

grey book

**EXPANSIONIST POLICY
AND
NEO-NAZISM
IN
WEST GERMANY**

**BACKGROUNDS
AIMS
METHODS**

**A DOCUMENTATION
PUBLISHED
BY THE
NATIONAL COUNCIL
OF THE
NATIONAL FRONT**

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Backgrounds – Aims – Methods

Nazism is gaining ever more ground in the West German Federal Republic! Everywhere in the world the people's attention has been aroused. Nazism—that reminds one of force and terror, that reminds one of blood and war. It is the name for organized murder and homicide, the synonym for robbery, the battle call against the security of the European peoples.

Nazism on the advance! Hardly anybody is astonished anymore that this alarming news comes from West Germany, because everything that was reactionary, medieval and dangerous in Germany is celebrating its resurrection there.

What is happening? Are we confronted by non-typical manifestations of an otherwise healthy and stable democracy or by the characteristics of a reactionary system? Are they the sediments of a past age which are being washed to the top once more, or is a new nazism flourishing which is nourished by the present West German society? Is it a question of the nationalistic errors of a few members of the petty bourgeoisie who are insignificant in number and influence, or of the necessary results of the Bonn policy which was stamped by the CDU/CSU since the very existence of the Federal Republic and which has had the direct assistance of some social democratic ministers for some months?

The Kiesinger/Strauss government and also the leaders of the Social Democratic Party want to appease the international public whose attention is being aroused. Do not take it so seriously, it is said, that a nazi party is again able to have a following of several hundred thousand people. The few votes, it is said, do not mean anything, they are completely irrelevant for the political life of the Federal Republic as a whole. Thereby one intentionally forgets to mention that in the provinces of Hesse and Bavaria in the Federal Republic the open nazi party today already has more electoral votes than the Hitler party was able to obtain during the elections to the Reichstag in the whole German Reich of that time in 1928. That was five years before Hitler took power.

Just this appeasement is suspicious and demands a more exact examination.

First of all it has to be considered that the social breeding ground for nazism has remained existent in West Germany after 1945 up to the present day. The Potsdam Agreement which had the aim of exterminating militarism and nazism on German soil, remained, unrealized in West Germany. Its realization has been consciously and systematically prevented by West German big capital with the active support especially of US finance capital.

The democratic will of the West German population, which for instance, found its expression in the plebiscite in Hesse in 1946, was disregarded. Programmatic declarations of West German parties, as for example, the social democrats, who announced in 1947 that the abolition of the power of the big capitalist cliques was the prerequisite for democracy and peace, was put in the files without being realized. The Adenauer-CDU also tore up its Ahlen program of February 1947, after it had fulfilled its purpose. In order to give the policy of this party first of all an anti-fascist camouflage and in order to catch the voters, it had been said in this program that the capitalist striving for power and profit must never again become the content and aim of the social and economic system.

The economic and political power of German big capital grew strong once more. The key positions in the state and economy—and soon also the commanding posts of the West German army—were occupied by active nazis—up to the present federal president and the present federal chancellor—who had eagerly served the criminal Hitler regime and in many cases had themselves committed crimes.

The post-war period in West Germany was the period of the restoration of the economic, political and military power of big capital as well as of the complete formation of a state-monopoly system. With regard to its social character, it was in complete conformity with what had brought forth Hitler fascism and with what had been the basis of the predatory war for predominance in Europe and world domination. This was not simply a renaissance of capitalist conditions, but the reconstruction of the power of German armament capital and of militarism, that is, those forces which had shown themselves in two world wars to be especially rapacious and aggressive. This continuity with regard to social life and power, the prevention of the necessary democratic and anti-fascist reformation of West Germany after 1945, the restoration and forced concentration of economic and political power of West German high finance, combined with anti-communism as a state doctrine, have not only conserved but also newly prepared the soil for nazism.

But why, it might be asked at this point, does neo-nazism flourish today of all times, when—as has just been explained—the soil had long ago been cultivated? Is this a coincidence of history? Or is what one hears from Bonn not correct, that nazi activities and nationalistic slogans should no more be taken seriously today than the appearance of reactionary radical groups during the past 20 years, which always soon disappeared from the scene again?

The apparent conclusiveness of this calming propaganda of those ruling in Bonn can not stand a close examination. The present growth of neo-nazism is neither a coincidence, nor is it comparable with the previous fate of groupings and parties which are characterized as right extremist.

The truth is rather this: At the present stage of development the ruling circles of West Germany need neo-nazism and therefore consciously sponsor it.

With the end of the post-war period the Federal Republic began a new period of its development. Its characteristics are increased expansivity. The period of restoration has been succeeded by a period of expansion. Leading West German politicians have expressed this openly. Josef Hermann Dufhues, then business chairman of the CDU, declared at the 13th CDU Congress at the end of March 1965 in Düsseldorf that Germany—he naturally meant the West German Federal Republic—had never since the First World War been so strong as today. The interests of West Germany had now to be expressed and represented more pretentiously than before. Shortly afterwards, on 10 April 1965, the leading periodical of West German big industry, *Industriekurier*, expressed its opinion on the same subject. The paper wrote, that for the Federal Republic there existed a big disproportion with regard to policy and economics. Although it was one of the world's important industrial and commercial powers, it did not have the corresponding political weight. It was also no wonder that just at this time the thesis was propagated — primarily by Franz-Josef Strauss—that West Germany was allegedly an economic giant, but a political dwarf, and that it was high time to overcome this contradiction.

Such talk is not new. German imperialism which had always come too late and had received too little during the distribution of imperialist spheres of influence, had prepared the First and also the Second World War with the same slogans. In 1912, General Friedrich von Bernhardi had, for instance, written in a "Word of Exhortation to the German People": "If we view the position of Germandom in the world, then we have to admit with a bleeding heart that the political position of the German Reich does not in any way correspond to the cultural value of the German people and the economic significance of Germandom abroad." And Hitler called for a place in the sun; he demanded that the distribution of the world should not be accepted as unchangeable and that territory should be brought into accord with the population.

But today such a policy is no longer imaginable—who should be so mad as to make a third attempt of this kind from German soil? Some may make such objections. But already in 1955 an intimate friend of the then Bonn Chancellor Konrad Adenauer formulated the modern version of the policy of expansion of German imperialism.

Robert Ingrim wrote at that time, that at the moment when Germany again becomes a great power, it would also again become existent with regard to the European East. It should be the nation "which must warm up most strongly for the liberation of Poland, Bohemia and the other satellites".

Ingrim added: "That Germany will be of the party next time (in the new order of Europe—editor), other-

wise then in 1919 and 1945, is now to be assumed, thanks to its entry into the great alliance." At the same time this interpreter of West German policy informs us "that the liberation of East Elbia (that is what he calls the GDR—editor) would be a first stage, a preliminary stage of the liberation of the neighbours and definitely a military useful beginning of the checking of the red flood".

In passing it may be remarked that Ingrim called the then CDU deputy Kurt Georg Kiesinger, today Bonn chancellor, an especially talented and active defender of this "policy of liberation".

Are these outdated opinions of a cold warrior of 12 years ago? Nothing of the kind. What Ingrim wrote is today valid policy in Bonn. To be sure, West German Federal Chancellor Kiesinger stated in his government declaration that the will for peace and for understanding was the basic concern of Bonn foreign policy. He wants to have it believed that behind these peaceful tones there is also a peaceful policy. But what is to be understood when Kiesinger says peace and understanding and what is the true desire of the government he leads?

Anyone who wants to discover what Kiesinger means must have a look at what Strauss wants. Presumably it is not contested that Kiesinger is the creature of Strauss, that Strauss enthroned him as federal chancellor. Strauss has explained the foreign policy program of expansion of West German imperialism in 1966 in his book with the title "*Entwurf für Europa*" (Outline for Europe). Strauss declared it was time and a very realistic demand to change the face of the world. He goes into precise detail and writes that the object was to shift political relations of power and to achieve a new military balance.

The overcoming of the status quo, Strauss says, must be achieved by Europe again being given the opportunity to fulfil its old historical function. He demands a European forward policy.

We learn what Strauss means by this from the claim of West Germany to hegemony in Western Europe, even if he expresses this somewhat guardedly in consideration of the NATO allies. Strauss demands the unification of Western Europe into an economic and nuclear armed military power. With his typical modesty, he remarks that the leaders of this power must not necessarily be Germans at the beginning. Supported on the complete potential of West Germany, it is a question of making the people of Eastern and South Eastern Europe members of an All-European community of nations, to give them back "freedom", whereby no doubt is left that Strauss means by this the liquidation of the socialist orders in these countries. The Soviet Union must be "moved" to change its policy, to reduce its military power.

Konrad Adenauer, who disgracefully and scrupulously betrayed the German nation in the interest of such an adventurous European policy, backed up the West Ger-

man government. As private emissary of the Kiesinger/Strauss government, so to speak, he made a trip to Madrid and Paris in his old age, in February 1967. Adenauer, who as confidant of the financial king Abs and as honorary chairman of the CDU exercises a constant influence on West German policy, thereby pursued his old idea of integrating the fascist Franco regime in an atomically armed Western European alliance, by-passing NATO and with France as pillar, in order to be able thus to increase pressure against the Eastern European countries. The publicistic voice of Adenauer, the *Rheinische Merkur*, did not headline an editorial on 24 February 1967 about the trip with "Corner-stone Spain" without purpose. The paper draws attention to the Spanish uranium deposits and the American atomic submarine base in Spain, recalls the Spanish-French agreements on the utilization of atomic energy and the West German jet bombers, which when flying to their Portuguese bases need Spain's airspace, and then announces the aims which Adenauer pursued with his trip:

"What is therefore more logical than to apply the example of Spanish-American bilateralism to the future consolidation of Spanish-French and German-French cooperation, so that not only the gaps in NATO are closed but a depth in space capable of supporting the construction of a powerful Europe comes into being?"

Strauss spins the thread further: The Federal Republic should have an influence on atomic weapons within the framework of a West European community led by it. He condemns any idea of military neutrality as being dangerous. Disarmament agreements should not be signed.

To complete the picture, Strauss propagates nationalism in his book, which is only logical. One should stop speaking of the guilt of the German Reich for the Second World War. He calls the crimes of Hitler fascism harmless and demonstratively cites remarks according to which Hitler is supposed not to have wanted the Second World War at all.

Finally Strauss regrets that it is today not possible to conduct a guerrilla war for "reunification" according to the conception of West German big capital, that is, against the GDR and other socialist states, along lines of the fascist volunteer corps of the nineteen-twenties.

Here we have a concept, the dangerousness and adventurousness of which is surpassed only by its hopelessness. Hitler once uttered with impudent arrogance: Whatever intentions heaven may have with us, one should already recognize us by the visor! The position of Strauss clearly shows what aims West German finance capital has in the visor. Nobody should comfort himself with the idea that these are perhaps the non-committal play of ideas of an individual.

At the CDU Congress in Düsseldorf on 31 March 1965 the conception of revenge and expansion received the express approval of the Congress when the chairman of the parliamentary group of the CDU/CSU de-

clared: "In the service of liberty and Europe, we want to resist the status quo and overcome it. Jointly we want to act upon the realities in the communist-ruled part of Europe... We cannot act as if the fate of the people of Eastern and Central Europe had nothing to do with us." Barzel appealed not to make arrangements with the realities created by the communists.

Whoever is able to use his senses and interpret words, recognizes in this program the continuation of the policy of hegemony of German imperialism, the application of that thesis of Hitler, which in 1927 he clothed in the words: "State frontiers are created by human beings and are changed by human beings." This adventurist conception has put millions of people in their graves.

Neo-nazism is the political expression of the demagogically called national but in truth nationalistic and expansionist aims of Bonn policy.

The leading forces of the Federal Republic have taken over the function of Hitler fascism—to be the battering ram, the spearhead against socialism. The correction of the results of the Second World War, namely the victory of the anti-Hitler coalition, is their declared concept. That is why today the Kiesinger/Strauss government opposes the validity of the Potsdam Agreement in intimate concord with the neo-nazi NPD. By the refusal to carry out the Potsdam Agreement, the identity of the open neo-nazism of the NPD with the creeping neo-nazism of the policy of the Kiesinger/Strauss government is shown with special clarity. Consequently frontier revisions, overcoming of the status quo, the extension of power, the counter-revolutionary overthrow in the socialist countries of Eastern and South-Eastern Europe, hegemony in Europe—those are their joint aims.

Thereby the policy of hostility to the socialist German Democratic Republic, the sole representation pretension and the Hallstein doctrine play a special role.

The annexation of the GDR is to represent the first phase on the way to hegemony in the whole of Europe, aspired to by West German imperialism in alliance with the USA. That policy means playing with fire and a threat to peace and security of all the peoples of Europe and of the whole world. The sole representation pretension constitutes a permanent declaration of war against the GDR and a permanent source of conflicts. It is the incarnation, the crystallization point of aggressivity. Those who deny the existence of an existing state, refusing its recognition in order to keep a free hand for the elimination of that state, are potential aggressors. The sole representation pretension therefore also contradicts the interests of the peoples and states of Western Europe, in particular in view of the fact that the CDU/CSU leaders, supported by social democratic ministers, are demanding control over atomic weapons for the implementation of their policy of expansion.

The attempts at sabotage by the Kiesinger/Strauss government—with the full backing of the West German arms industry—of the treaty on the non-proliferation of

atomic weapons made more evident than ever the frenzy of the rulers of the Federal Republic in their endeavour to obtain access or at least partial access to nuclear weapons for their expansionist foreign policy. In that effort official spokesmen of the government parties in Bonn and the leading press organs under their influence employ the same nazi phraseology used by Hitler to substantiate the withdrawal of fascist Germany from the League of Nations in the years 1936–1938, and the demand for equal rights in regard to armament, in preparation of the Second World War.

Asseverations of peace by Chancellor Kiesinger and delusive manoeuvres by social democratic ministers cannot alter that truth.

The neo-nazi character of the present Bonn policy becomes manifest not least from the fact that the tactics of Hitler fascism of the period of preparation for the Second World War have been taken over. Hitler let the cat out of the bag in this connection on 10 November 1938 when he said:

"Only by continuously emphasizing the German desire for peace and peaceful intentions was I able to obtain freedom for the German people step by step and to provide them with the armament always required as a prerequisite for the next step... It then proved necessary to bring about a gradual psychological transformation in the German people and explain to them by steps that there were some things which could not be attained by peaceful means and had to be imposed with the use of force. For that it was necessary not to propagate force as such, but it was necessary to present to the German people certain foreign political events in such a light that the inner voice of the people itself would begin to cry out for the use of force."

The second aspect of nazi tactics consisted in a phased procedure. At first Austria was swallowed—with a subsequent declaration that there were no further territorial claims; next was the Czechoslovak Republic, then Poland, followed by France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, Norway, Denmark, and so on.

As the present West German Chancellor Kiesinger had helped to a decisive extent to implement that nazi policy of deceit and plunder, as an active member of the nazi party in various leading state functions, it is not really surprising that he seeks to make use today of his experiences as an expert of the Hitler period in that domain. What else is he in fact doing, if on the one hand he denies the revanchist character of Bonn policy, declaring that it was only concerned with "justice", yet at the same time proclaims the sole representation pretension against the GDR, the alteration of the status quo and the revision of the European frontiers?

The policy of the Kiesinger/Strauss government is neo-nazi in nature, it signifies a move to the right.

A further significant factor deserves attention in this connection:

The transition to the phase of an intensified policy of expansion has been and is accompanied by a rapid

sharpening of contradictions within the Federal Republic and in the sphere of its foreign policy.

In the sphere of foreign policy the CDU/CSU leaders were unable to ignore the growing danger of isolation during the past year. That was above all due to the following circumstance: it may be said without exaggeration that the reinforcement and successful development of the socialist German Democratic Republic constitutes the greatest victory won after 1945 on German soil for peace, for the security of the European peoples and for social progress. That was at the same time a serious defeat for German imperialism and militarism, the declared aim of which for the past 20 years has been to eliminate that factor of peace, democracy and socialism, the socialist German state, with a view to reaching out, for a third time, for hegemony in the whole of Europe.

This demonstrated the whole extent of the hopelessness of the Bonn policy of revenge, and both in the western countries and inside the Federal Republic there have been increasing voices in recent years calling for a policy of reason and realism. As reason and realism are not part of the political arsenal of West German big capital and the leadership of the CDU/CSU, the ruling circles in West Germany try to respond to the failure of their course against the GDR by a flight forward. A hysterical intensification of their sole representation pretension, anti-communist instigation and nationalist demagoguery are being whipped up to veil the bankruptcy of their policy before the eyes of their own people. For that reason the ruling circles in Bonn fully approve the supplementing of their officially conducted nationalism by the chauvinistic propaganda of the neo-nazi NPD.

The so-called policy of European integration also failed to yield the desired results; West German big capital had hoped by that method to obtain a certain influence both on the home and foreign policies of the states of Western Europe and to tie them down to their own course of revanchist policy. The crisis of NATO did not remain without serious consequences for Bonn. While remaining an accomplice of the USA, the competition raging between West German and USA monopolies and the growing influx of foreign capital to West Germany, as well as controversial foreign political interests today give a different character to the Bonn–Washington axis than at the time of the foundation of the Federal Republic.

Those contradictions in the western camp are also being answered by Bonn with nationalism. Strauss declared that a nationally conscious, nationally marked and systematic national representation of interests was required. He thereby is in accord with the principles of the West German neo-nazi party, the NPD, both in his formulations and in the significance of his utterances.

In addition there are profound internal contradictions. At the moment when West German big capital went over to a policy of expansion, the rate of growth of West German industrial production rapidly decreased. This economic regression was accompanied by extended

structural crises in important spheres of the West German economy, the consequences of which are increasingly coming to light. The situation in the coal industry is a demonstration of the incapacity of state monopoly capitalism to regulate the processes of the technical revolution in the interest of the working population, in the interest of the frequently mentioned communal welfare. At the same time the power crisis in the Federal Republic is an expression of the unreduced mercilessness of capitalist competition, in this case conducted by mineral oil trusts, above all of the USA, against the West German coal industry. Signs of structural crisis are also becoming evident to a growing extent in the West German steel industry.

Here we come up against the contradiction between the crude reality of capitalist instability, of the continued natural unevenness of development and the cyclical rise and fall on the one hand, and the adventurist big power politics of revived West German imperialism, on the other hand which in its revanchist mania not only falsely assesses the international relation of forces, but also overestimates itself.

The growth of material demands for the implementation of the CDU/CSU policy coincides with the recession of tax revenues as a result of the industrial lull, and with the effects of the economic and financial policy of recent years, guided by the profit interests and expansionist aims of big capital. The economic difficulties, the chaos of West German state finances thus are not the consequence of mistakes on the part of individual politicians, but the logical result of capitalist mismanagement, revanchist and expansionist policies.

The internal situation of the Federal Republic is marked in connection with the mentioned facts by growing social insecurity. The threat of unemployment has become social problem number one. The sharpening of the socio-political climate has also introduced a process of disillusionment about the “miraculous powers” of the state monopoly system in West Germany. The shock which upset the foundations of illusions nurtured for years and the growing unrest are increasing the potentials for an effective struggle for social security, democracy and co-determination.

All this proves the correctness of our prophesy that the contradictions of West German imperialism would become increasingly evident in time.

Revisionist theories attempting to present West German imperialism as a democratic and socially clarified system are today suffering obvious bankruptcy. Despite a long lasting boom and an alleged economic miracle, despite chrome and lacquer and high employment, despite several social concessions which the West German workers were able to attain with the GDR behind them, the nature of West German imperialism has not changed. The contradictions of that system have not been overcome and at present they are appearing especially sharply.

Yet it may be said that the coincidence of the effects

of those sharpened contradictions internally and in the sphere of foreign policy within a comparatively short period, the interlacement of the consequences of the bankruptcy of the CDU/CSU policy into a knot—that those are the true reasons for the depth and long duration of some of the crises which have arisen in Bonn to the surprise of many. In their totality these factors constitute a demonstration of the effects of the sharpened general crisis of capitalism in West Germany.

Historic parallels, of course, are only relatively valid.

Nevertheless it is striking to note the extent to which West German finance capital today is basically trying in the same way as Hitler in his day, forcibly to solve the internal contradictions with nazi methods. The West German big bourgeoisie is in this respect playing a game with three balls, as Walter Ulbricht, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED) and Chairman of the Council of State of the GDR, stated at the 14th session of the Central Committee of the SED: the CDU/CSU as the party of finance capital, the Social Democratic Party as an instrument exerting pressure on the trade unions, and the neo-nazi NPD to tie wide sections of the petty bourgeoisie to the ruling system.

Nationalism and chauvinism are to delude the West German workers and office employees as well as the farmers and the middle class about the deep-going class antagonisms that are tearing up West German society.

Terms such as “formed society” and “social partnership” express just what Hitler meant under the term “folk community”; they all serve the same purpose of internally securing a revanchist course of foreign policy.

An attempt is being made to check the economic regression and the financial crisis by methods derived from the arsenal of the fascist economic policy of the Hitler government during the years 1933 to 1935, even though they may be applied today as new economic policy by a minister with a membership card of the Social Democratic Party in his pocket.

At the same time a so-called internal state reform is being undertaken, by means of which the West German Constitution is to be made virtually invalid. A dictatorial regime with a centralist management and of neo-nazi character is completely to abolish bourgeois-parliamentary democracy.

As the decisive circles of West German monopoly capitalism, such as Abs, Flick and Krupp saw no further chances of mastering the internal contradictions with the Erhard cabinet, and to overcome the isolation of the Federal Republic, they consciously brought the political crisis to a head in 1966 with a view to preparing the West German public for a change of government, for the acceptance of Strauss and for the inclusion of social democratic ministers in the cabinet. They arranged the replacement of the Erhard cabinet, in order to impose the transition to a policy of expansion by means of new tactics, so as to break down the resistance

developing against the formed rule, and to overcome the isolation in the sphere of foreign policy.

The Kiesinger/Strauss government, which includes social democratic ministers, has the task of implementing the reactionary program of stabilizing the rule of state monopoly capitalism in West Germany. The formation of the Kiesinger/Strauss government is an essential step towards the formation of the rule of West German monopoly capital. In view of the facts, the warning issued by Professor Karl Jaspers against a dictatorial party oligarchy must be considered as fully justified.

Does the admission of social democratic ministers to the Kiesinger/Strauss government not mean a chance for a turn to the better? This is a frequently asked question. The leaders of the West German Social Democratic Party have themselves mentioned the aim of their participation in the government. Whenever the Reich was in distress, so they stated, the social democrats had been called to help. That is true. In 1914 social democratic leaders helped the German Empire to conduct the First World War. In 1918 social democratic leaders entered the government of Prince Max von Baden to save the Empire. Under the Weimar Republic they utilized influential positions in the state not for a thorough democratization of Germany, but to prepare the entry to the palace of the Reich President for Field Marshal Hindenburg. And that same Hindenburg finally handed over power to Hitler, with some social democratic leaders even ready to back Hitler when, in May 1933 they voted in the Reichstag in favour of the foreign policy conception of nazism.

The prevention of the unity of the working class in West Germany after 1945 by social democratic leaders, their blind anti-communism, to a large extent contributed towards paving the way for neo-nazism in West Germany and to confusing and paralyzing the forces of anti-fascism.

Today the social democratic ministers in Bonn have above all been assigned the function of preventing the trade unions from resolutely defending the interests of the workers and office employees against the social reactionary onslaughts of Bonn. They are to help to enforce more than 80 amendments to the Constitution envisaged under the program of internal state reform. In the sphere of foreign policy the function of the social democratic ministers consists in polishing up the shattered prestige of the Federal Republic, calming the growing mistrust of the European peoples in Bonn's armament and revanchist policy and the anxiety about the revival of nazism, producing a picture of peaceful readiness for understanding.

West German monopoly capital has had to learn in recent years that there were no prospects whatsoever for gaining ground in the socialist countries with an openly revanchist policy. Now good results are hoped for with ministers professing to be social democrats, who are leading representatives of a party which has many genuinely socialist minded workers among its

membership. It is believed that such men might be more suited to the task of selling Bonn's expansionist policy without the immediate and obvious display of the club-foot of revanchism and imperialism.

As the revanchist ambitions have not been reduced and even less abandoned, attempts are being made to change the ways and means somewhat. Recalling a German fairy tale, one might say that the wolf had swallowed chalk to make his voice less raucous and more pleasant so that the young goats, which he presumes to be stupid, will open the door to him.

The participation of social democratic ministers in the Kiesinger/Strauss government does not impede the growth of neo-nazism, but rather increases its chances, for it fulfils the intention of veiling the agreement between official Bonn policy, seized by the creeping spirit of nazism, and the aims of the open neo-nazi elements.

Drawing a line at this point and adding up all the factors mentioned the following result will be obtained:

- The revival of nazism in West Germany should be considered as a causally conditioned consequence both of the foreign policy and home policy objectives of West German finance capital in the present stage of its development. Those who continue to pursue the old aims of German armament capital and militarism might well alter their methods and temporarily appear in the garb of bourgeois-democrats, but the spirit of nazism will always come to the surface. Neo-nazism reflects the essence of CDU/CSU policy and of the groups of West German armament capital behind it. It is an open or concealed manifestation of the core of Bonn's policy:
- denial of the historical guilt of Hitler fascism for the Second World War;
- refusal to apply the internationally binding provisions of the Potsdam Agreement;
- revision of the results of the Second World War in favour of West German armament capital and militarism;
- revenge for the defeat in the Second World War;
- hegemony in Europe.

It should be recalled that nazism was the political and ideological instrument of brutal suppression of internal resistance and preparation of the people for the crusade, with nationalist and anti-communist chants of hatred employed by reaction in Germany, with the tycoons of the armament industry in the vanguard, when they began in the nineteen-twenties to prepare to avenge their defeat in the First World War.

Today the gentlemen of the Bonn government, the generals in command of the Bundeswehr and the barons of the West German armament industry are once again out for revenge. They are setting out upon that path

at a time when the international relation of forces has considerably changed in favour of socialism. In the form of the socialist GDR a peaceful state of social progress has arisen on German soil, which, in alliance with the Warsaw Pact states, forms a firm barrier against a renewed crusade to the east. The imperialist colonial system has collapsed and the West German armament capitalists are coming up against growing contradictions even in their own camp.

Growing contradictions internally and growing contradictions externally—but intensified expansion and revanchism feature on the program! Neo-nazism is the political reply to that conflict. It demonstrates the special aggressivity of German militarism at the present time.

This leaves no margin for coincidence. These dangerous developments were and still are possible;

because the Potsdam Agreement was not implemented in West Germany and the necessary anti-fascist, democratic transformation was prevented in opposition to the will of the people;

because the armament trusts and militarists have once again seized power, whereas the majority of the people, above all the workers and office employees are prevented from exerting any influence on political and economic developments;

because the West German Federal Republic has been assigned the function of a spearhead against the world socialist system and is willing to play that role, and West German high finance has begun to undertake the restoration of its former position and to pursue a policy of expansion;

because the ruling forces of the Federal Republic intend to turn back the wheel of history and to attain hegemony in Europe by means of the planned annexation of the German Democratic Republic, the destruction of socialism on German soil and the elimination of the peaceful German state;

because the ruling circles of West Germany gloss over the sharpened internal contradictions with a veneer of nationalism and intend to form a dictatorship in the interest of their expansionist foreign policy by means of a reactionary "internal state reform";

because in the face of economic difficulties and structural crises, today—as in 1932—the social discontent of broad sections of the population is being diverted towards the right with the aid of the openly nazi NPD, and misused for nationalist purposes, according to the methods of Hitler fascism.

Thus, the West German Federal Republic, as a result of the policy of the CDU/CSU and its governments from Adenauer to Kiesinger, has become the main disturber of the peace in Europe, without the checking of which peace and security cannot be permanently safeguarded.

New Stage of the Expansionist Policy

THE RIBBENTROP METHOD

“The long overdue transition from the policy up to now of warfare of position to warfare of mobility in our relations with the East is correct and will also have its political effect in the long run.” (Retired Ambassador Dr. Hans Kroll in *Der Tagesspiegel*, West Berlin, of 16 February 1967)

This is the simple militant formula to which a specialist reduces “the new” in the foreign policy offensive of the Kiesinger/Strauss government. Dr. Kroll, an experienced, old hand diplomat of the German big bourgeoisie from the Adenauer era, interpreted the oracle of Bonn and declared what Chancellor Kurt Georg Kiesinger meant when he said in his government declaration and several times afterwards that it is intended to “uncramp” east-west relations. Dr. Kroll has uncramped the phrases!

In fact the foreign policy of the Kiesinger/Strauss government makes a new impression only on superficial observers. On closer observation it becomes obvious that the tactics have become more flexible but that the old direction of the blow has remained the same.

Adenauer’s senile dream of conquering the German Democratic Republic in a frontal attack and marching

into its capital through Brandenburg Gate “with beating drums and blaring trumpets” was thwarted on 13 August 1961 by the wall, by the anti-fascist protective wall which was set up by the still youthful workers’ and farmers’ state. That was the end of the Adenauer era. And in Bonn people recalled the tactic which was applied by Hitler and his Foreign Minister Ribbentrop in the preparation of their aggression.

In the nineteen-thirties Hitler and Ribbentrop did not succeed with a frontal attack, either. Therefore, they began to differentiate and thus brought one European state after the other under their influence and finally under the fascist rule of force. Hitler declared peace to all European states, but always excepted one state against which the next direct acts of aggression were impending. Thus he first solved the “question of the eastern regions” (and annexed Austria), the “Sudeten question” (and occupied Czechoslovakia), and the “corridor question” (and invaded Poland while unleashing the War). Only then did the frontal attack begin.

The political practice of the Kiesinger/Strauss government, freed of all fine words, makes use of similar tactics. Clinging to the old expansionist aims of the

greater German movement, determined to revise the results of the Second World War, it tries first of all to differentiate between the socialist states, play them off against the GDR in order thus to prepare the general attack against the socialist German peace state. For this reason Bonn foreign policy modified the notorious Hallstein doctrine towards the socialist states.

Wladyslaw Gomulka characterized this development in a speech in Katowice on 8 February 1967: "The modified Hallstein doctrine subdivides the states and terms into different categories. The diplomatic relations maintained by the socialist countries with the GDR are already considered by the Bonn government as a normal affair. When one of these states takes up diplomatic relations with the Federal Republic, this act is given superlatives in Bonn . . . But at the same time the Bonn government warns the governments of the capitalist countries and the countries of the third world that it will consider it a hostile act towards the Federal Republic if they take up diplomatic relations with the GDR . . .

"Diplomatic relations have existed for many years between the Federal Republic and the Soviet Union. But due to the cold war and revenge-seeking policy of the Federal Republic this fact did not improve mutual interstate relations or security in Europe. The proposals submitted by Bonn to the other socialist countries at present to take up diplomatic relations with the Federal Republic while maintaining the previous positions by both sides pursue certain aims which correspond with the line of Bonn's revanchist policy." Gomulka emphasized that Bonn is primarily interested in isolating the GDR, in disengaging it from the states of the Warsaw Pact and in better conditions for the project calculated for the future to incorporate this socialist state in the Federal Republic. (*Allgemeiner Deutscher Nachrichtendienst* of 8 February 1967)

Hitler

"National socialist Germany wants peace from the deepest internal world outlook convictions. It further wants it out of the simple primitive perception that no war is appropriate for remedying the nature of our common European misery."

"Germany has concluded a treaty with Poland excluding the use of force without consideration of the past as another more than valuable contribution to European peace which it will not only keep blindly but of which we have only the desire for an ever new prolongation and for an increasingly friendly deepening of our relations resulting from it . . . We recognize the Polish state as the homeland of a people having a great national feeling."

"I read in a big international newspaper a few weeks ago that Germany might easily do without the Memel area for it is big enough anyhow. The noble philanthropic writer of this remark forgets only one thing that

Global Strategy and Bridge Building

In a certain sense the new tactics of Bonn eastern policy is directed at adapting it to the changed forms of the global strategy of the USA. After the failure of the conception of the forcible "rolling back" of the socialist states which was developed by former American Secretary of State Dulles, the American imperialists today vary a policy of the unity of open and undercover interventions. Whereas open aggression is especially expressed in the barbaric war against the Vietnamese people, the undercover intervention is concentrated on Europe where world imperialism is faced by the firm alliance of the states of the Warsaw Pact.

President Johnson declared already in May 1964 in Lexington (Virginia) that the USA wants "to bridge the gap which separates us from Eastern Europe". What is to be understood by this? Johnson said in the same speech that the countries behind the iron curtain should be tested "for weak spots". (E. Köhl, "Global Strategy and Bridge Building", *Neues Deutschland*, Berlin, 21 February 1967)

In almost literally taking over the thus formulated "bridging tactics" in American global strategy Kiesinger said in his inaugural speech that his government wants to make West Germany a "bridge between Western and Eastern Europe". Conspiring in the Bonn-Washington alliance, the West German imperialists try to cook their own soup on the fire of the American imperialists. They recall how Hitler and Ribbentrop tested the neighbouring states for "weak spots" and "built bridges".

In this connection a comparison between the notorious "peace speech" of Hitler in the Reichstag on 21 May 1935 and the government declaration by Kiesinger of 13 December 1966 is interesting:

Kiesinger

"It is the hope of all peoples that peace should be preserved, and the German people wish this no less than the others. Therefore, the will to peace and understanding among the peoples is the first word and the basic concern of the foreign policy of this government."

"In broad sections of the German people there exists the lively wish for a reconciliation with Poland whose history which was full of suffering has not been forgotten by us, and whose desire finally to live in a state territory with secure frontiers we understand better than before in view of the present fate of our own divided people. But the frontiers of a reunified Germany can only be fixed in a freely agreed regulation with an all-German government."

"The German people also want to reach agreement with Czechoslovakia. The federal government condemns Hitler's policy which was directed at destroying Czechoslovak state unity . . . Nevertheless there are still

140,000 people have their own right to live, whether Germany wants them or not is not the question, but rather whether they want to be Germans or not."

"The German people and the German government have . . . the understandable desire that the right of self-determination should be granted everywhere, not only to foreign peoples but also to the German people."

"The German Reich government . . . is always ready to make those limitations in its arms equipment which are also made by other states."

The words resemble each other because the aims resemble each other.

Reduced to a rational common denominator Bonn foreign policy envisages three stages:

First stage: maintaining the sole representation pretension by utilizing the alliance with the USA, differentiating between the socialist states and thus isolating the GDR.

Second stage: transition to the general attack on the isolated GDR by conquering the dominating influence in Western Europe and eliminating the workers' and farmers' power.

Third stage: paving the way for the forward strategy against more remote targets in the east and south-east of Europe.

THE PRESUMPTION OF SOLE REPRESENTATION

Like his predecessors West German Federal Chancellor Kurt Georg Kiesinger declared in his government declaration on 13 December 1966:

"This federal government also considers itself the only German government which is elected freely, legally and democratically and is therefore authorized to speak for the entire German people." (German Bundestag, 5th electoral period, 80th session, Bonn, 13 December 1966, p. 3664)

In another Bundestag session Rainer Barzel, chairman of the CDU parliamentary group, confirmed and explained this focal sentence and principle of the government declaration as follows:

"We especially welcome and underline the statement in the government declaration that nothing will and must happen which would be considered as moving away from our principles of non-recognition of the Soviet occupation zone (meaning the GDR—editor) as a second German state in world opinion in fact or in international law." (German Bundestag, 5th electoral period, 82nd session, Bonn, 15 December 1966, p. 3711)

There is thus continuity; from Adenauer via Erhard to Kiesinger the thesis which is as fictitious as it is contrary to international law is maintained that the West German Federal Republic, as the only German state

problems which must be settled, as, for example, the right of nationality. We are aware of our duty to take care of our Sudeten German fellow countrymen as well as of all displaced persons and refugees and we take it seriously."

"We are grateful to our allies for supporting our point of view on the question of our divided people and their right of selfdetermination."

"The German government stands for a consistent and effective peace policy . . . We shall cooperate on proposals for armament control, armament reduction and disarmament."

existing in accordance with international law, is juridically identical with the former German Reich within the frontiers of 31 December 1937.

The first Federal Chancellor, Konrad Adenauer, had alleged in his government declaration on 7 April 1954.

"... that there is, was and will be only one German state and that it is only and solely the authorities of the Federal Republic which today represent this German state which never perished". (SBZ-Archiv, Cologne, of 20 April 1954, p. 112)

Ludwig Erhard formulated this as follows in his government declaration of 10 November 1965:

"The federal government sticks to its sole representation right for all Germans." (*Die Welt*, West Berlin, of 11 November 1965)

This presumption is not only directed against the GDR, it is the expression of the striving for hegemony of West German militarism and neo-nazism over the whole of Europe.

Under the Mask of the Smile

Since the Kiesinger/Strauss government clings to the sole representation pretension now as before, all declarations like the following are only aimed at leading the population of the West German Federal Republic and the world public astray:

"We want relaxation, not petrification, we want to overcome ditches, not deepen them. We therefore want to promote with all our might the human, economic and spiritual relations with our fellow countrymen in the other part of Germany. Where, for this purpose the taking up of contacts between authorities of the Federal Republic and those in the other part of Germany is necessary this does not mean a recognition of a second German state." (German Bundestag, 5th electoral period, 80th session, Bonn, 13 December 1966, p. 3664)

berliner politik, the information periodical of the West Berlin CDU, frankly formulated what this really means:

"Recognition of the Soviet occupation zone makes an all-German policy impossible because interference in the internal affairs of an independent state is forbidden

(according to the United Nations Charter)." (*berliner politik*, West Berlin, February 1967, p. 10)

The same direction is taken by the demand of CDU Bundestag member Majonica:

The Kiesinger/Strauss government is "obliged to interfere" with regard to the GDR, it has to operate "with the greatest degree of influence which is within reach for us".

Here the nature of the sole representation pretension as a permanent declaration of war on the GDR becomes obvious.

Secret Implementing Regulations

The Bonn government is not ready to do the only reasonable thing—recognize realities and normalize relations between the two German states. Instead it tries to enter upon an intensified course of the "permeation" and penetration into the GDR for the purpose of its liquidation with more refined methods and greater agility in pursuit of its old annexationist aims.

In connection with this special regulations were recently issued for the realization of the sole representation pretension by the Bonn government, its ministries and its subordinated authorities.

They include, for example, "directives" of the Bonn Foreign Office on the attitude of West German scientific delegations which come to meet scientists from the GDR at international congresses and conferences.

These directives are exclusively aimed at discrimination against GDR scientists and their state.

The West German delegations are instructed to practise the revanchist sole representation pretension "in suitable ways".

The text runs:

"It is recommended already during the preparatory period, to exert a timely influence on the congress leadership so that the term 'GDR' is avoided in congress publications."

The West German delegations are instructed to sabotage membership of GDR scientific societies in international organizations on a basis of equality in every way possible. They are to defeat corresponding applications with the demagogic objection that the membership of a GDR society would presuppose the recognition of the existence of two German states, however "to vote on such a political question . . . could not be the task of a non-state scientific association". In this way international congresses of scientists shall directly serve Bonn's revanchist policy on the hypocritical grounds that "political questions" are rejected.

The "directives" stipulate in addition the methods by which GDR scientists are to be "integrated" into the West German delegations. Thus, for example, "the use of delegation placards, table cards or delegation lapel badges with the inscription 'GDR' are to be prevented". If there is no other way left, the delegation placards

should bear the same inscription as that of the West German delegation.

Thus—in "supplementation" of the notorious Bonn handcuff law—it is being attempted simply to annex scientists from the GDR for the West German Federal Republic. They shall be deprived of their natural right to avow citizenship of their state.

Bonn's accelerated psychological warfare against the GDR is being brought into international congresses in this way. It is revealing that West German representatives in foreign countries in which such congresses are held are thereby given an active role. The delegations have "to contact" them in order to be given "advice" in the intended sense.

Another example are the "confidential matters" published as directives by the CDU "senate commissioner for East German College Questions" at the Hanover Technical College, Professor F. Erdmann-Jesnitzner.

He issues "suggestions" on how with the "highest possible effect" scientists from the GDR who are attending congresses in West Germany should be dealt with.

They practically have to be influenced from morning till night whereby in particular "various kinds of diversion after the meetings should be made use of in an appropriate manner".

Following consultations with a member of the staff of the minister for "all-German affairs", Wehner, and the so-called Committee for an "Indivisible Germany" and the CDU youth organization "Young Union" the neo-nazi "Union of youth faithful to their homeland" has founded a "Central Germany office" which is to exploit tourist traffic to the GDR for purposes of disruption, espionage and undermining activity.

Members of the neo-nazi youth organization were given the following tasks on travels to the GDR: "Keep your eyes and ears open! Report all impressions and experiences to the office! Bring back addresses—exact data on occupation, age and function in the Free German Youth or Socialist Unity Party, in particular on soldiers of the National People's Army and border troops! Pay attention to West German citizens who as delegations are guests of 'GDR' organizations—get their addresses!"

Grey Plan and Grey Eminences

"Timely" arrangement of the annexationist plans

The aggressive character of the sole representation pretension is becoming especially evident from the activity of the so-called Advisory Research Council for Questions of the Reunification of Germany. This body especially created for the planning, preparation and implementation of the program of aggression against the GDR was given a new impetus by the Kiesinger/Strauss

government. Already a few days after its establishment – on 19 and 20 December 1966 – the plenum of this annexationist staff met – the meeting was characteristically held in West Berlin. Participating in it were the new Minister for “All-German Questions” Herbert Wehner and State Secretary Carl Krautwig. The report on the plenary session was headed: “Advisory Research Council warns of Over-estimating the Economic Strength of the Zone.” Thus the realistic conception on the GDR which is gaining ever more ground also in West Germany as well as demands for its recognition are to be counteracted.

In an interview on the second program of West German television on 9 February 1967 SP Minister Herbert Wehner left no doubt that the annexationist plans towards the GDR are not to be changed in basic content but only be adapted to the new situation after the formation of the Kiesinger/Strauss government.

He said:

“...But as to the real problems of the Advisory Research Council, because this is an establishment attached to the Federal Ministry for All-German Affairs – an establishment formed by the cabinet many years ago – and we are currently reflecting, at the suggestion of the gentlemen working there and for which they have their own proposals, how their own work, *which I consider a tremendous achievement*, can be made timely.” (Emphasis by the editor) For Wehner these detailed plans for plundering the German Democratic Republic are a “tremendous achievement”. Under the Kiesinger/Strauss government these “achievements” are to be accelerated still more and made “timely” in accordance with the program of expansion.

What this timely arrangement is to look like can be seen from the formation of a cabinet commission for “inner-German relations” the chairmanship of which has been reserved to himself personally by Kiesinger. Other members are Minister of Finance Franz Josef Strauss, Minister of the Interior Paul Lücke, Minister for “All-German Affairs” Herbert Wehner, Foreign Minister Willy Brandt, Economics Minister Karl Schiller, Minister of Justice Gustav Heinemann, Minister of Transport Georg Leber, Postal Minister Werner Dollinger, representatives of the Press and Information Office. Furthermore the council includes a representative of the West Berlin Senate which does not belong to the West German Federal Republic.

The task of this cabinet commission is the direction and coordination of all measures directed against the GDR.

In other words, the cabinet commission is to implement the naked annexationist program of the “Advisory Research Council”. With an increased economic power brought about by incorporating and plundering the GDR, West German imperialism believes it will be strong enough to bring about a new order of the European frontiers in its spirit.

Advisory Research Council – Official Organ

As can already be seen from Wehner’s cited interview of 9 February 1967, the “Advisory Research Council”, which is working out the annexationist program against the GDR, is an official organ of the federal government. In all its reports it is explicitly stated:

“Practically the work of the Advisory Research Council is determined by orders of the federal government...”

In this body the Kiesinger/Strauss government is directly represented by Minister for “All-German Affairs” Herbert Wehner. Working in first line for the CDU is the former “Minister for Expelled Persons” and Bundestag deputy Johann Baptist Gradl, chairman of the Advisory Research Council.

State Monopoly Entanglement

The Advisory Research Council reflects the state monopoly merger of the state authorities with monopoly capital. In it the cooperation of the representatives of the federal government and all parties of the Bundestag with the trusts and big banks, employers’ associations and revanchist organizations is carried out in concentrated form.

The plenum of the Advisory Research Council includes in addition to members of the so-called research circle, the leading organ in working out the plans, representatives of the following organizations and institutions:

Representatives of the top associations of West German monopoly capital

Federal Association of German Industry,
Federal Union of German Employers’ Associations,
Joint Committee of German Trade,
German Industrial and Trade Association,
Federal Association of Private Bankers.

Representatives of the Communities of Interest of War Criminals expropriated in the GDR

Community of Interests of Enterprises Expropriated “in the Zone”,
Representative Body of Expelled Industries,
Community of Interests of War-damaged Industry,
United Associations of Fellow Countrymen of Central Germany.

Representatives of the State

The Minister for “All-German Affairs”,
Representatives of other federal ministries,

In the "Emergency Regulation to Supplement the Prize Regulation in the Event of an Armed Conflict with the Soviet Occupation Zone of Germany", reproduced here, the Bonn government a priori declared the German Democratic Republic to be an "enemy".

Bundesgesetzblatt

Sonderausgabe Nr. 43

Notverordnung zur Ergänzung der Prisenordnung für den Fall eines bewaffneten Konflikts mit der Sowjetischen Besatzungszone Deutschlands

Auf Grund der ihr erteilten Ermächtigung verordnet die Bundesregierung mit Gesetzeskraft:

Artikel 1

Ergänzung der Prisenordnung

Die Prisenordnung vom 28. August 1939 (Reichsgesetzbl. I S. 1585) wird wie folgt ergänzt:

Vor Art. 88 wird im Dreizehnten Abschnitt folgender Artikel eingefügt:

Artikel 87 a

(1) In bezug auf die Sowjetische Besatzungszone Deutschlands (SBZ) ist, unbeschadet ihrer Nichtanerkennung als Staat, diese Prisenordnung in dem gegenwärtigen bewaffneten Konflikt entsprechend anzuwenden.

(2) Dabei ist die SBZ im Hinblick auf ihre Beteiligung an dem Konflikt auf seiten der Gegner der Bundesrepublik Deutschland als „Feind“ zu behandeln.

Artikel 2

Inkrafttreten

Diese Notverordnung tritt mit sofortiger Wirkung in Kraft.

Die Bundesregierung

Geheim

The Customs Law adopted by the West German Bundestag is an example of juridical annexation in West German

legislation. Sovereign rights in regard to the GDR are claimed in it. (See section: "From the Maas to the Memel")

Deutscher Bundestag
3. Wahlperiode

Drucksache 2201

Bundesrepublik Deutschland
Der Bundeskanzler
8 — 65304 — 4497/60

Bonn, den 8. November 1960

An den Herrn
Präsidenten des Deutschen Bundestages

Hiermit übersende ich den

Entwurf eines Zollgesetzes

nebst Begründung (Anlage 1) mit der Bitte, die Beschlußfassung des Deutschen Bundestages herbeizuführen.

Federführend ist der Bundesminister der Finanzen.

Der Bundesrat hat in seiner Sitzung am 28. Oktober 1960 gemäß Artikel 76 Abs. 2 des Grundgesetzes beschlossen, zu dem Entwurf wie aus der Anlage 2 ersichtlich Stellung zu nehmen. Im übrigen erhebt er gegen den Entwurf keine Einwendungen. Der Bundesrat ist der Ansicht, daß das Gesetz seiner Zustimmung bedarf.

Der Standpunkt der Bundesregierung zu den Änderungsvorschlägen des Bundesrates ist in der Anlage 3 dargelegt.

Der Stellvertreter des Bundeskanzlers

Ludwig Erhard

A. Im allgemeinen

I. Der Zweck eines Zollgesetzes

Die Bundesrepublik kann ebensowenig wie andere Staaten auf eine bestimmte Ordnung ihres Warenverkehrs mit dem Ausland verzichten. Sie bedient sich dabei vor allem der Zölle als des klassischen, international anerkannten Instruments der Außenhandelspolitik.

B. Im einzelnen

ERSTER TEIL

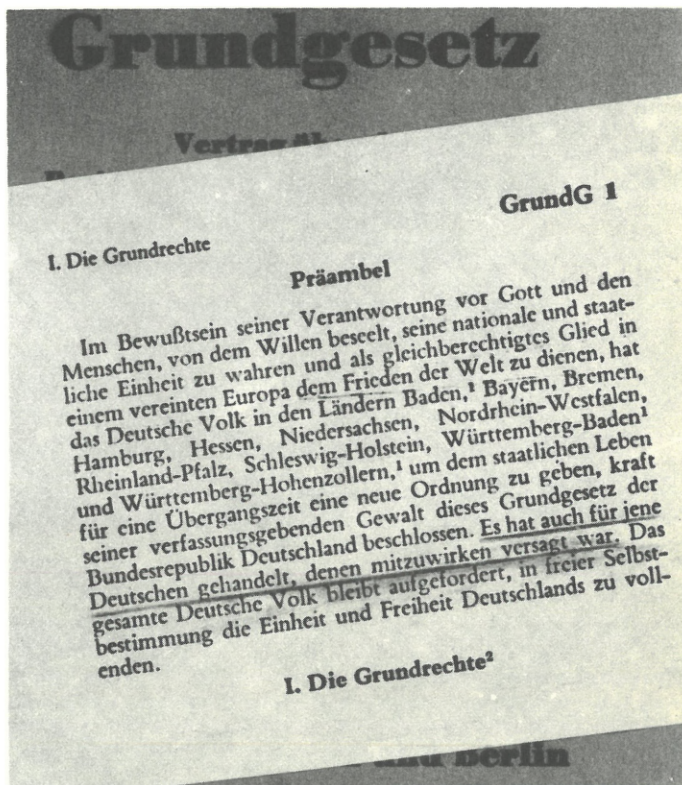
Erfassung des Warenverkehrs

§ 2 — Zollgebiet, Zollanschlüsse, Zollausschlüsse, Zollfreigebiete, Zollgrenze, Zollaustand

Die Sowjetzone gehört nach dem Entwurf wie bisher zum Zollgebiet. Praktische Schwierigkeiten (verschiedene Zolltarife, Abweichungen im Zollrecht, verschiedene Verwaltungen) müssen und können auch künftig gemeistert werden.

Die Einteilung des Hoheitsgebiets (Zollgebiet, Zollfreigebiete, Zollausschlüsse) kann nur durch Gesetz geändert, ein Zollanschluß nur durch Gesetz geschaffen werden. Verhältnissen, die sich als Kriegs- oder Besatzungsfolgen ergeben haben, wird nach der Rechtsprechung dadurch Rechnung getragen, daß Gebiete, die nicht mehr unter deutscher Verwaltung stehen, de facto als Zollausschlüsse behandelt werden. Als solche kommen (nach der Rückkehr des Saarlandes und nach der Grenzregelung mit Luxemburg, Belgien und den Niederlanden) noch in Betracht: deutsche Reichsgebiete in den Grenzen vom 31. Dezember 1937 unter vorläufiger sowjetischer

From the beginning Bonn has pretended to have the sole right to speak on behalf of the whole of Germany: The photostat is an excerpt from the West German Basic Law (constitution), the preamble of which contains a claim to the right of tutelage over the citizens of the German Democratic Republic.

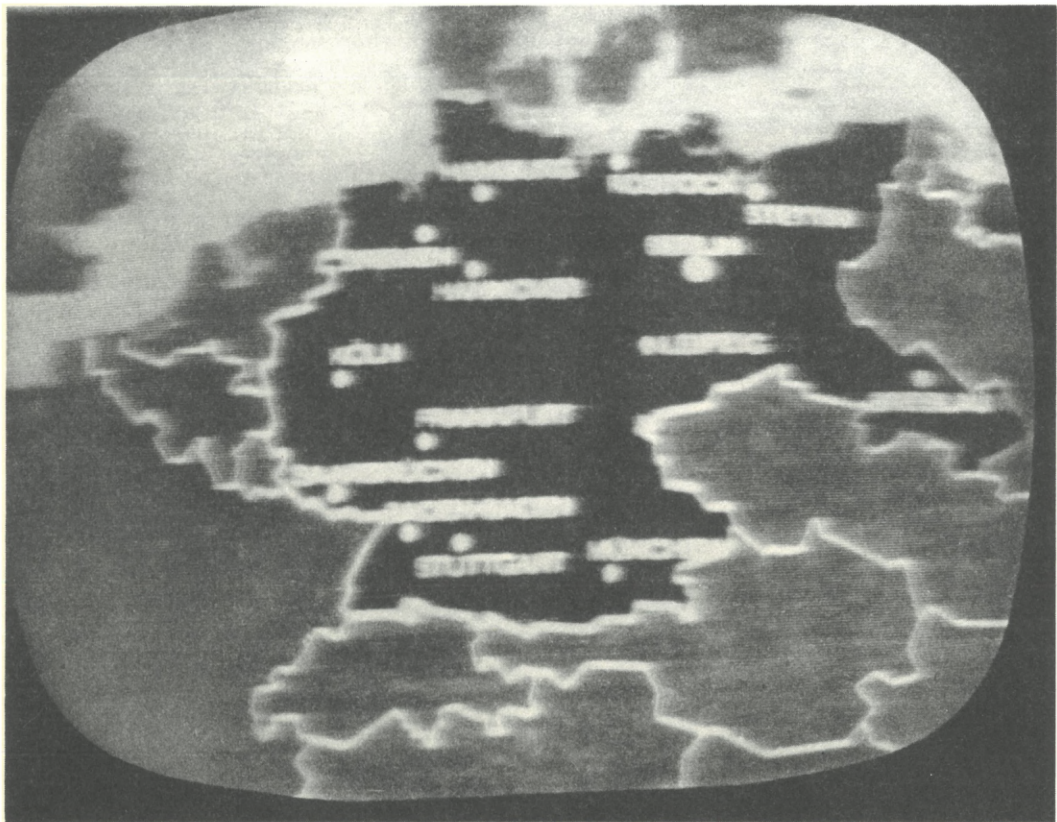


Revanchist claims on West German sign-posts: towns situated on the territory of the People's Republic of Poland and the USSR are named in the same way as they had been called under the fascist dictatorship and thus considered as integral parts of the West German state.



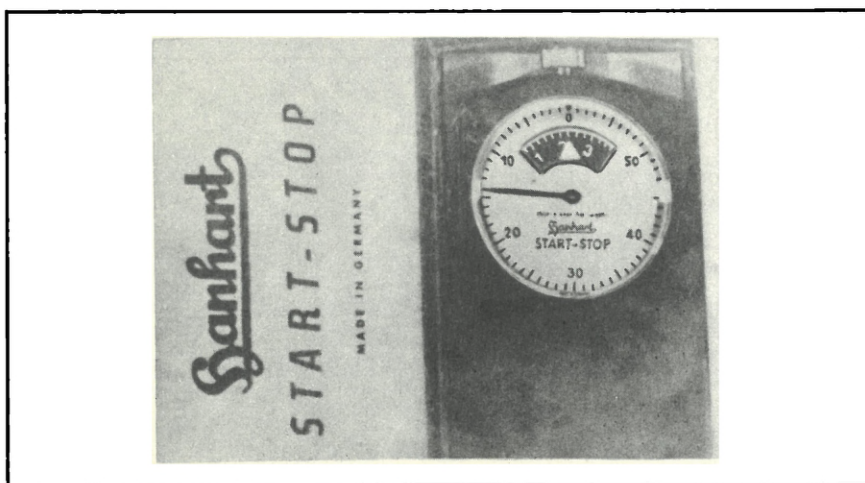
Revanchism several times a day for millions of West German citizens: above—the weather map of the West German television (with the frontiers of 1937); below—one of a series of stamps issued by the West German post-office, in which

Bonn propagates its territorial claims by means of stamps showing motives of towns situated on the territories of other states.



Bombing terrorists in Alto Adige: Franz Muder in full display of his nazi war decorations ...

... and bomb supplies from Munich: time-fuse found by the Italian police.



The present minister of war in Bonn, Gerhard Schröder, had intended, even during his term as foreign minister, to send West German troops to Vietnam, according to a report in the West German illustrated Der Spiegel under a picture of the West German "Vietnamship Helgoland". The facsimiles

prove the engagement of the Bonn government in the dirty Vietnam war of the USA. (See sections on "The Bloody Adventure in Vietnam" and the following sections up to "Legion of Bomber Pilots")



Vietnam-Schiff „Helgoland“; Der Außenminister wollte Truppen senden

Der Kanzler zu seinen Ministern: „Sichtbare Beteiligung in Südvietnam bedeutet den Amerikanern ein Vielfaches an moralischer, politischer und materieller Unterstützung.“

Außenminister Schröder, der sich in interfraktionellen Gesprächen sogar für eine Entsendung deutscher Soldaten auf den fernöstlichen Kriegsschauplatz ausgesprochen hatte, sekundierte: „Wir erwarten auch bei uns ein unbedingtes Engagement der USA und können uns nun nicht einfach entziehen.“

Die Minister diskutierten, ob zivile oder gar militärische Freiwillige nach Vietnam geschickt werden sollten.

Die Bundesregierung hat letzte Woche dennoch bereits begonnen, die Anwerbung von Freiwilligen für die Vietnam-Expedition vorzubereiten.

In den vergangenen Jahren ist die Bundesrepublik zum zweitgrößten Geberland für Südvietnam nach den USA aufgerückt. Bonn spendete bisher:

- ▷ Kapitalhilfe in Höhe von 85 Millionen Mark;
- ▷ technische Hilfe im Wert von 8,4 Millionen Mark;

The West German illustrated Quick confirmed that West German citizens are fighting on the side of the American aggressor. Under the headline: "A German in Vietnam" there was the quotation: "My steel helmet is inscribed 'Live and Love'." Yet I cry: 'Take no prisoners, shoot them all!'"

Below: Death notices in West German newspapers also prove that Bonn is involved with mercenaries in the criminal US war in Vietnam. (See section on "Death Notices")

Ein Deutscher in Vietnam

5. September 1965 (an Bord)
 Liebe Eltern! Schon drei Wochen auf diesem Kahn. Ich habe inzwischen gelernt, daß man auch ohne Bier leben kann. Am nächsten Wochenende sollen wir in der Bucht von Quin Nhou landen. Gestern befanden wir uns 8050 Meilen von Charleston (dem Einschiffungshafen am Atlantik, die Red.) entfernt. Traf auch einige Deutsche. Einen Kölner und einen Ulmer. Ver-

24. September 1965
 Wir durchsuchten das Dorf; meist Lehmhütten mit Strohdächern; die herrliche bunte Fassade eines Tempels, von einem Hakenkreuz gekrönt. Wir stießen nur auf ein altes Ehepaar. Einer von uns schoß auf sie, wohl aus Langeweile, oder wie jemand, der auf Hasenjagd geht. Er schoß dem alten Mann die Zehen ab und war noch stolz darauf. Andere lachten. Ein Sa-



„Auf meinem Stahlhelm steht: 'Lieben und leben'. Aber ich schrie: 'Macht keine Gefangenen, erschießt sie alle!'“

„Ich stand schußbereit vor dem Tunnel. Heraus kam eine junge Frau. Sie war halb erblindet. Ihr Kind kroch auf allen vieren.“

Tieferschüttert erhielten wir die traurige Nachricht, daß mein lieber Sohn, Gatte und Bruder

Franz Gerhard Prediger
 geb. 21. 10. 1938

am 30. Juni 1966 in Vietnam gefallen ist.

68 Mannheim
 Untermühlaustr. 23
 8000 München 55
 Einhornallee 15/I
 8042 Schleißheim
 Gartenstraße 12 c

Beerdigung: Freitag, 2. Juli 1966, 10 Uhr in Mannheim

Völlig unerwartet und unfaßbar für uns alle nahm Gott der Herr meinen geliebten Sohn, meinen lieben Mann, Bruder u. Schwager

Armin Röhrig

im Alter von 37 Jahren nach einer Verletzung im Vietnam-Krieg am 8. November zu sich in sein Reich.

In tiefem Schmerz

Gertrud Röhrig, Mutter
 Edith Röhrig, geb. Weltmann
 Edith Schamoni, geb. Röhrig
 Dr. H. Schamoni
 und alle Anverwandten.

str. 5

Traudel Prediger

Tieferschüttert geben wir die traurige Nachricht, daß am Samstag, 11. Juni, mein lieber Gatte, unser guter Vati, unser einziger Sohn

Franz Xaver Wallner
 Feldwebel bei der US Army

bei den Kämpfen in Vietnam im 30. Lebensjahr gefallen ist.

Vilsbiburg, den 24. Juni 1966

In tiefer Trauer:
 Elisabeth Wallner, Gattin.
 mit Kindern Anita und Jürgen
 Franz Xaver u. Sofie Wallner, Eltern

Die Beerdigung findet am Samstag, 25. Juni 1966 um 9.30 Uhr in Vilsbiburg statt.

the President of the "German Institute of Economic Research", which has its seat illegally in West Berlin, German Bundesbank, Credit Institute for Reconstruction, Federal Statistical Office.

Representatives of the Bundestag Parties

Christian Democratic Union,
Christian Social Union,
Social Democratic Party,
Free Democratic Party.

Representatives of Vocational Organizations

Federation of German Trade Unions,
German Employees' Trade Union,
German Farmers' Association,
German Farmers' Raiffeisen Association,
German Crafts Association,
German Federation of Provincial Diets,
German Federation of Towns.

Sabre Rattling

The work of the Advisory Research Council adopted ever more concrete forms with the period of development of the Federal Republic, in which the restoration of imperialism was nearing its completion and the transition to expansion was on the agenda. Replying to the question posed by some circles whether after 13 August 1961 and the GDR's growing stability there was any real sense, if plans were made and research work done for illusions, the then Federal Minister Johann Baptist Gradl said that although "in politics one should not speculate on miracles" but an annexation of the GDR would nevertheless be brought about because the Federal Republic was no longer "the forlorn collapse of the post-war years", but a state which "counts again militarily". (*Bulletin des Presse- und Informationsamtes der Bundesregierung*, Bonn, No. 30, of 13 February 1966, p. 258)

Exactly in this sense was the fourth report of 1961–65 of the Advisory Research Council written; it was published in July 1965 and became known under the name of the "Grey Plan". It is the complete program for annexing the GDR, for restoring capitalism and for depriving the working people of their rights.

Points of the Immediate Program

1. The nationally-owned enterprises of the Nazi war-criminals and monopolists are to be returned to them. The Bonn annexationist program reads as follows:

"The two-fold task remains, ... to form the economy and society in Central Germany in a liberal sense, in order to integrate it into a unified German economic and social body with West Germany, ... to organize preparatory economic and socio-political reflections on reunification in accordance with the principles of market and competitive economy ... It is not possible to predict the time needed for this transformation and integration, it is to be as short as possible." (*Grey Plan*, pp. 16–18)

2. The land which in the GDR belongs to those who till it, is to be given once more to the Junkers and big landowners.

It says on the subject:

"At the time of reunification responsible tasks will emerge, just out of transferring the agricultural production cooperatives (LPGs) back to private enterprise forms, for which there is no comparable model ... Along with reunification the agricultural production cooperatives with the existing members will according to the law become 'agricultural transitional communities' ... The settlement of economic and social questions must proceed from the fact that the transitional communities although competent establishments are only transitional ones which serve the aim of dissolving the former LPGs in an orderly procedure ...

"Persons who on 8 May 1945 had been entered as proprietors in the land register and who according to the provisions also valid in the Soviet occupation zone have retained their property can demand from the transitional community the return of the property entered in the register. The claim to return of property can be made by the legal successor of the owner, if he proves that he is entitled to it by an inheritance statement or a testament ...

"If several persons apply for the conclusion of a farm contract who fulfil the prerequisites of c), preference shall be given to those who have the following relations to the project under contract:

–Persons who were deprived of their property without compensation by the Soviet zone land reform ..."
(Op. cit., pp. 265–273)

3. Absolute rule for war criminal Abs:

"As far as the 'Deutsche Notenbank' has to exercise its activity according to provisions existing in the Soviet occupation zone, this is to continue by separating the organizational tasks. But care must be taken that private and public credit institutes may be established and can work without hindrance, so as to realize the tasks which are assigned to the banking apparatus in a market economy." (Op. cit. p. 22)

4. Abolition of the political positions of the working class in the economy and politics:

"Working conditions must again primarily be worked out by tariff groups and individual agreements. This

presupposes that . . . employers' associations are set up." (Op. cit. p. 22)

The workers are to be deprived of all rights:

"The authorities which the FDGB (Confederation of Free German Trade Unions) currently exercises in the chambers of trade are annulled. The regional administrative organs of the FDGB which were competent for the social insurance system cease to function.

The proposals concerning the organization of labour exchange and unemployment insurance are to be coordinated with the transitional solutions of the social insurance system. Similarly it is also envisaged for unemployment insurance that the political, organizational and financial management by the Confederation of Free German Trade Unions, its individual trade unions or other corresponding establishments is to cease." (Op. cit. pp. 238, 294, 459)

5. Even the educational system of the German Democratic Republic which is recognized throughout the world as exemplary, and which is superior to that of the Federal Republic in every respect, is to be abolished:

"The apprentice-training centres . . . are to be dissolved. The agricultural vocational school system is to be adapted to the conditions after reunification." (Op. cit. pp. 261–265)

6. The GDR is to be withdrawn from the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance of the socialist states in which the principle of comradely cooperation and mutual aid prevails. It is to be replaced by the EEC, profit economy and the competitive struggle:

"Step by step the economy of the Federal Republic is being integrated into the Common Market of the European Economic Community since 1 January 1958. If one proceeds from this, Central Germany will not only be integrated with West Germany but also with the other partners of the European Economic Community." (Op. cit. p. 19)

"Naturally the development must be systematically pursued and on account of it the labour result must be continuously checked . . . But on the whole it can already be said now that in the economic and social sphere everything has been planned in advance for a smooth organization of reunification . . . In the reunified Germany a basic market-economy system is to be established." (Op. cit. p. 20)

Secret Lists in the Safes

This is only a selection of the measures developed in the Grey Plan for restoring the power of monopoly capital in the GDR. Whether it is directives for the reprivatization of pharmacies, agricultural fodder production

and the craft production cooperatives—the West German federal government is speculating on transforming all spheres of life after annexing the GDR.

Along with the draft for steps to be taken for a re-capitalization the Advisory Research Council has also projected state monopoly guiding organs which are to implement in close cooperation with the federal government the administrative de-socialization and capitalist restoration. For the sphere of nationally-owned industry these are a "supreme authority" and an "advisory council" consisting of trust representatives. For socialist agriculture local "rural centres" and a supra-regional "supreme rural centre" are envisaged. Lists for staffing these counter-revolutionary general staffs are ready waiting in the safes of the Ministry for "All-German Affairs".

The foundation protocol of the Advisory Research Council finally demands a complete breaking of the workers' and farmers' power:

"It is to be expected that in the Soviet zone up to 90 per cent of all persons working in the state apparatus must be exchanged in the first weeks. Already now a list must be made of all persons who would come into question for occupying posts."

Model: Göring's Green File

The Advisory Research Council and its Grey Plan are not peculiar inventions of West German post-war policy. Both have historic examples which they follow in part in detail: The "Economic leading staff, East" and the "directives for managing the economy in the newly-occupied eastern territories of 16 June 1941" known as the "Green File". (1st edition, Berlin, July 1941—printed in the Wehrmacht Supreme Command)

The "Green File" served the direct preparation of the fascist annexation of large parts of the socialist Soviet Union. This plan dealt with oil, coal, grain, meat and fat and millions of slave workers. The body which had to plan and manage this historically unique plundering of a whole people was the "Economic leading staff, East", which was subordinated to Hermann Göring, Hitler's special commissioner.

When at the beginning of the nineteen-fifties, West German imperialists started to work out their plan for the third try at expanding their power throughout Europe, they started directly with Hermann Göring's experiences. The "Economic leading staff, East" became the "Advisory Research Council for Questions of Reunification".

Whereas Göring's "Green File" comprised 30 pages, the plans of the new "Economic leading staff, East" have 1,000 pages. The basic agreement of the two documents is striking.

Green File

"There is an interest in not having economic life, as far as this is compatible with our interests, coming to a standstill. A change necessary in German interests will take place later, as soon as the situation can be surveyed. (p. 21)

"The quite special conditions of Greater Russian Leningrad, which is difficult to supply, with its valuable shipyards and nearby aluminium industry, call for specific measures which will be taken in good time . . .

"The Moscow region and the territory to the east of it, inhabited by Great Russians and having very valuable capacities for the area concerned and for the textile industry, constitutes a problem as complicated as Leningrad as regards the treatment of population. (P. 22)

"State banks and other monetary institutions having large sums are immediately to be placed under supervision . . . Credits are to be granted to industrial and other enterprises and monetary institutions or state and regional administrative organs if the granting of credits is in German interests. (P. 28)

"German agricultural leaders in limited numbers will be placed in charge as superior officials in the regions essential for the supply of the troops and the homeland. Since there is a lack of all implements and machinery, all enterprises with the exception of the suburbs must be further conducted as large enterprises. Economic commandos will quickly employ new managers so far as necessary. (P. 13)

"Local inhabitants mobilized for the management of enterprises or for other essential work will not be selected as hostages or be politically prosecuted without preliminary notice to the economic authorities. (P. 20)"

Grey Plan

"Preparatory economic and socio-political reflections of reunification must therefore proceed from the fact that the German economy after reunification must be organized in accordance with the principles of the market and competitive economy, naturally giving strict consideration to modern social and socio-political necessities.

"Accordingly the Research Advisory Council selected as guiding line in its work the principles of the social market economy of the Federal Republic. Even after the necessary political conditions have been ensured, the economic transformation and amalgamation will require a certain transitional period. (P. 18)

"It is by all means possible, within the framework of a unified economic system, to adopt specific measures to the advantage of certain regions for a shorter or longer period.

"The establishment of full competitiveness must be the aim. An effective starting aid must therefore be immediately granted to Central Germany, to be replaced in due course by measures within the scope of a specific regional economic policy. In exceptional cases individual specific protective measures may become necessary for a certain time. The Central German economy must not be allowed to be deprived of its autonomy and scope of development during the period of transition by the greater power, market and competitive experiences of the West German economy. (P. 18)

"The 'Deutsche Notenbank' will provisionally continue its business transactions in accordance with the regulations in force in the Soviet occupation zone, organizationally separated. It should at the same time be ensured that private and public credit institutions should once again be established and enabled to function freely, so that the tasks assigned to the banking machinery in a market economy might be fully accomplished. (P. 22)

"1. Upon reunification the nationally-owned farms (VEGs) and 'other nationally-owned agricultural enterprises' lose their legal capacity and in their totality constitute a special property with its own economic management and accounting. VEG-Special Property.

"2. The rights and obligations of the VEGs are transferred by force of the law to the Special Property.

"3. The supreme agricultural authority appoints a 'commissioner for the administration of the VEG-Special Property' (commissioner). The administrative authorities so far competent for the VEGs are subordinated to the commissioner. (P. 278)"

"The 'Research Advisory Council' demands 'appropriate measures also in regard to the reconstruction of the Central German administration, in the reconstruction of the law courts, the reestablishment of self-administration in Central Germany and in the structure of the legal system'. (P. 19)"

Göring's "Green File" was dealt with by the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg. Göring was sentenced to death in October 1946 on the basis of the statutes of that Tribunal. Article 6 of the Statutes of the International Military Tribunal states:

"The following actions or any one of them constitute a crime, for the punishment of which the court is competent. The perpetrators of such crimes are personally responsible:

a) crimes against peace: namely, the planning, preparation, introduction or conducting of a war of aggression or a war in violation of international treaties, agreements, or assurance or participation in a joint plan or a conspiracy for the perpetration of one of the aforementioned acts..."

The validity of the legal principles applied by the International Military Tribunal was expressly confirmed by a decision of the United Nations General Assembly of 11 December 1946. These also form part of the federal law in accordance with Article 25 of the Basic Law (constitution) of the Federal Republic.

In this way those responsible for the planning and preparation of the aggression—which include the members of the Research Circle and the Research Advisory Council—are guilty of the violation of international law, the Constitution and of the preparation of war crimes.

From the Maas to the Memel

The arrogant claim of the Federal Republic to be the political and legal representative of the former German Reich within the frontiers of 31 December 1937, as well as of all Germans, is also reflected in West German legislation.

Laws were passed which are stated to be valid for the territory of the former German Reich within the frontiers of 31 December 1937; this includes the GDR, parts of the People's Republic of Poland and the USSR.

In West German customs regulations which came into force on 1 January 1962 and its official preamble territorial rights are claimed not only in regard to the GDR and West Berlin, but also in regard to territories of the People's Republic of Poland and the USSR. Concerning the GDR the official preamble of that law of 14 June 1961 states: "The Soviet zone... as before belongs to the customs area." (*Bundesgesetzblatt* – Part I, 1961, p. 737, and *Bundestags-Drucksache* III/2201, p. 34)

In the "Proclamation on the Research and Exploitation of the Continental Shelf" the West German government raises territorial claims in regard to the entire "under-water zone bordering on the German sea coast". In accord with its revanchist claim to represent the German Reich within the frontiers of 1937, the West German government, in gross violation of the most elementary norms of international law, also claims the right to make decisions concerning the continental shelf of the GDR and of parts of the continental shelf of other

socialist states. (See *Bulletin des Presse- und Informationsamtes der Bundesregierung*, No. 17, Bonn, 28 January 1964, p. 146)

Similar claims are also voiced in the draft of the new West German Penal Code, Article 3 of which states, concerning the sphere of validity of the law:

"... the German Penal Code is applicable to acts committed in the inland."

According to the official explanation the term "inland" includes:

"... in addition to territories belonging to the territorial sphere of validity of the Penal Code also territories situated outside that sphere. These include the Soviet occupation zone of Germany, the Soviet sector of Berlin and the other territories of the German Reich within the frontiers of 31 December 1937, at present under foreign administration." (German Bundestag, Bonn, 4th election period, *Drucksache*, IV/650, p. 106)

The "Emergency Regulation to Supplement the Prize Regulation in the Event of an Armed Conflict with the Soviet Occupation Zone of Germany", even goes as far as to state that the GDR is "to be treated as an enemy".

The Importance of Being German

On the basis of the sole representation pretension the Bonn government further maintains that GDR citizens, as "German citizens" are allegedly subject to the civil obligations and jurisdiction of the West German Federal Republic.

On 23 June 1966 the West German Bundestag confirmed this presumption by passing the so-called Law on the Liberation from German Jurisdiction (Handcuff Law), Article 1 of which states:

"The federal government may grant exemption from German jurisdiction to Germans having their domicile or permanent residence outside the sphere of validity of the Basic Law in case this is considered necessary in view of all circumstances and for the promotion of important public interests." (*Bundesgesetzblatt*, Part I, 1966, p. 453)

This law establishes the principle already in application, according to which persons of German nationality, who are not citizens of West Germany but nationals of other states—above all of the GDR, the USSR, the People's Republic of Poland and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic—can be subjected to the Penal Code and criminal jurisdiction of the West German state, even for actions conducted outside the territory of the Federal Republic and which, according to the law of their states and the jurisdiction of the place in which they are carried out do not constitute unlawful acts, but on the contrary, the fulfilment of their rights and obligations as citizens.

Whereas Hitler subjected the population of the occupied territories to fascist legislation only in 1940, the

West German government is already practising that arbitrary legal method in times of peace.

Article 116 of the Basic Law of Bonn stipulates:

"Germans within the meaning of the Basic Law, unless other legal regulations prevail, are all persons possessing German nationality, or having found asylum in the territory of the German Reich according to the frontiers of 31 December 1937 as refugees, exiles of German nationality or their spouses or offspring."

The commentary on the Bonn Basic Law states:

"...all-German citizenship was made the foundation of the legislation and all relevant federal laws deal with that citizenship, regardless of whether the other German territories (meaning the GDR and territories in the People's Republic of Poland and the USSR—editor) recognize that new legal regulation or not." (H. von Mangoldt/F. Klein, *Das Bonner Grundgesetz*, West Berlin and Frankfurt-on-Main, p. 1571)

In other words, in addition to GDR citizens, those of other states who were forced to become German citizens during the Germanization actions under the Nazi occupation are still considered as "Germans within the meaning of the Basic Law". Professor von Mangoldt publicly stated as much in the 1963 edition of his commentary on the Basic Law on p. 610:

"Germans within the meaning of the Basic Law also include all persons to whom German citizenship was forcibly imposed under the rule of National Socialism."

This becomes even clearer from the provisions of Article 1 clause 1 of the Law on the Regulation of Questions of Citizenship of 22 February 1955:

"(1) German nationals who were accorded German citizenship by virtue of the following regulations:

- a) Treaty between the German Reich and the Czechoslovak Republic on Matters of Citizenship and Option, of 20 November 1938 (*Reichsgesetzblatt II*, p. 895)
- b) Treaty between the German Reich and the Republic of Lithuania on the Citizenship of the Memel Areas of 8 July 1939 (*Reichsgesetzblatt II*, p. 999)
- c) Decree on the Acquisition of German Citizenship by Former Czechoslovak Citizens of German Nationality of 20 April 1939 (*Reichsgesetzblatt I*, p. 815) in connection with the Decree on the Regulation of Citizenship Questions Concerning the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia of 6 June 1941 (*Reichsgesetzblatt I*, p. 398)
- d) Decree on the German People's List and German Citizenship in the integrated Eastern Territories of 4 March 1941 (*Reichsgesetzblatt I*, p. 118) in the Wording of the Second Decree on the German People's List and Citizenship in the Integrated Eastern Territories of 31 January 1942 (*Reichsgesetzblatt I*, p. 51)
- e) Decree on the Acquisition of Citizenship in the Territories of Lower Styria, Carinthia and the Krain of 14 October 1941 (*Reichsgesetzblatt I*, p. 648)

- f) Decree on the Granting of German Citizenship to Persons Registered on the List of German Nationals in the Ukraine of 19 May 1943 (*Reichsgesetzblatt I*, p. 321)

became German citizens in accordance with the aforementioned Regulations..." (*Bundesgesetzblatt—Part 1*, 1955, p. 65)

The commentary on the Bonn Basic Law, Hamburg 1950 (Second Edition, 1964, commentary A, 3c on Art. 116 of the Basic Law) states in regard to the Polish western territories, that in the

"territory at the time still under Polish administration, the German citizenship of persons in possession of it prior to 1945 has been retained".

Concerning Gdansk, the commentary states:

"that there is agreement ... that the granting of Polish citizenship as a consequence of the incorporation of Danzig in the Polish state is likewise not recognized in Germany". (Ibid., comment A, 3b on Art. 116 of the Basic Law)

As regards the Kaliningrad region belonging to the territory of the USSR:

"...from the German side ... the automatic acquisition of Soviet citizenship will not be recognized up to the settlement in a peace treaty, the inhabitants are considered German citizens." (Ibid., comment A, 3e of Art. 116 of the Basic Law)

During the Bundestag debate on Kiesinger's government declaration CDU parliamentary group chairman Rainer Barzel brought all this into a common denominator:

"Those who speak of Europe as a whole and mean it in a peaceful spirit, must bring about a secure and effective nationality law ... *if we speak of Germany*—this should be emphasized once more in conclusion—or if we speak of the German people, *then we mean the whole, including also those Germans on the other side of the wall and barbed wire*." (German Bundestag, 5th electoral period, 82nd session, Bonn, 15 December 1966)

In this connection the new Minister for "All German Affairs" Herbert Wehner was confirmed absolute loyalty to the above-mentioned principles.

"On 28 August my colleague Wehner spoke on these matters. I am sure that Minister Wehner will keep precisely this aspect in mind." (Ibid.)

Revanchism in the School Atlas

The so-called map directives, published in the *Gemeinsame Ministerialblatt*, Bonn, of 14 February 1961, were established with a view to emphasizing the illegal claims of the Bonn government in regard to the German Democratic Republic and to territories of the People's Republic of Poland, the USSR, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and other European states, and in order to hammer them as irrevocable facts into the minds of the citizens of the Federal Republic every day. These directives define a general language regulation for all those

territories, towns and rivers which had been part of Germany under the German Empire or under fascist dictatorship. They prescribe:

"1. Germany within the frontiers of the German Reich of 31 December 1937.

a) In defining all localities within the state territory, exclusive use is to be made of the original German form of names, also in regard to those at present under foreign administration."

Concerning the designation of states and administrative territories the directives provide that:

"a) All territories to the east of the Oder-Neisse line shall be described as 'German eastern territories at present under foreign administration', in short either as 'German eastern territories' and in general usage as 'East Germany';

b) northern East Prussia as 'German eastern territories at present under Soviet administration', or 'East Prussia at present under Soviet administration';

c) southern East Prussia and the parts of Pomerania, Brandenburg, Silesia and Saxony east of the Oder-Neisse line as 'German eastern territories at present under Polish administration' . . ."

In accordance with these directives designations such as German Democratic Republic (GDR), Polish western regions, Kaliningrad region, etc., are to be avoided on all maps "on principle" as being "incorrect".

The chapter on "Frontier Presentation" of this official language regulation states:

"In all maps the frontier of the German Reich according to the status of 31 December 1937 is to denote the state frontier of Germany . . . The Oder-Neisse line is not to be presented as a state frontier . . ."

Further, instructions were issued to the effect that the former provinces with their frontiers "within the German eastern territories at present under foreign administration", in particular those "between the province of Silesia and the eastern part of Saxony (as of 1 September 1939)" should be included, "with a specific provincial demarcation which is weaker than that of the frontier of the country . . ."

The instructions concerning the "rest of Europe" are borne by the ideology of the Greater German "New Order". The "original, generally used . . . German denominations" are to be employed on principle, such as Arnheim, Strassburg, Odenburg, Eger, Reichenberg, etc.

Even the "other parts of the world" are included in those instructions. Thus "the official German names of localities in the former German protectorates . . . employed up to 1918 are to be further used in the *first place*", such as Bismarck-Höhe in the former German colony of Togo, or Johann-Albrechts-Höhe in the former German colony of Cameroon. The entire official map publication of the Federal Republic, text publications, maps for general use of private cartography, school atlases and even the daily weather map on the West German television program are all subject to these regulations.

Experimental Field West Berlin

The Kiesinger-Strauss government is continuing the annexationist policy hitherto conducted by Bonn in regard to West Berlin with a new quality. Chancellor Kurt Georg Kiesinger emphasized in his government declaration of 13 December 1966:

"The federal government will do everything to retain the membership of (West) Berlin in the Federal Republic, and will jointly with the Senate and the protector-powers examine how the economy of (West) Berlin and its position in our legal structure can be strengthened." (German Bundestag, 5th electoral period, 80th session, Bonn, 13 December 1966, p. 3664)

The continuous attempts of the Bonn government to annex West Berlin are in striking contradiction to the status of that part of the city, which has never been part of the West German Federal Republic. This was confirmed, among others, by French Foreign Minister Couve de Murville at the Geneva Conference of Foreign Ministers on 22 May 1959:

"The government of West Berlin has no direct relation to the government of the Federal Republic of Germany. The territory of West Berlin does not form part of the territory of the Federal Republic." (Dr. von Siegler, *Dokumentation der Genfer Aussenministerkonferenz* 1959, Vol. 1—compiled on behalf of the Bonn Foreign Office)

Since the formation of the West German government under Kiesinger and Strauss the provocative visits of Bonn politicians to West Berlin have been continued with growing intensity. During the period from 2 December 1966 to 6 February 1967, West German Federal President Lübke, West German Chancellor Kiesinger and West German Ministers Schmücker, von Hassel, Wehner, Höcherl and Strobel have unlawfully conducted their official business in West Berlin. The ostentatious reception of Kiesinger by Lübke in West Berlin on 25 January 1967 must be assessed as a clear sharpening of the presumption of the West German government to act in and on behalf of West Berlin.

The West German news agency DPA commented on the appearance of Kiesinger in West Berlin, on 24 January 1967:

"The announcement by Kiesinger of regular visits to (West) Berlin was explained by the government spokesman with the observation that the chancellor intended to come to the German capital also in addition to the usual occasions, as for example on May Day, the sessions of the Bundestag committees. The federal chancellor would be visiting Berlin about once every quarter."

A further move towards the integration of West Berlin in the West German Federal Republic is being attempted by the Kiesinger/Strauss government by giving representatives of West Berlin full voting rights in the Bonn Bundestag. The West German FDP has appeared as the public supporter of those plans. Its chairman, Erich Mende, stated on 23 November 1966, that he was

"in favour of the full and unlimited voting rights of the representatives of (West) Berlin on all matters". (*Der Tagesspiegel*, West Berlin, 24 November 1966)

The same demand was also raised by the chairman of the CSU group in the Bonn Bundestag, former West German Federal Minister Stücklen, on 5 February 1967 in an interview with the Bonn *Rundschau am Sonntag*.

The paper of the Springer trust *Die Welt* revealed the direction of future moves in a leading article under the heading "The Chancellor in (West) Berlin":

"In the first place there is the consolidation of membership in the Federation (meaning West Germany—editor) from the political, economic and social points of view. As far as questions of status are affected, the necessity for agreement with the western protector-powers is a matter of course . . .

"The viability and political future of the city, however, can only be assured by means of a close interlacement with the remaining federal territory.

"There has since been a considerable nominal presence of the Federal President in (West) Berlin." (*Die Welt*, West Berlin, 23 January 1967)

What does this "presence" mean?

There are some 80 West German authorities in West Berlin with almost 20,000 employees, as well as numerous representatives of West German militarist and revanchist organizations. Nearly 30 headquarters and branch offices of West German secret services were established in West Berlin in past years.

The ruling circles in Bonn are striving to materialize their annexation plans in regard to West Berlin by the establishment of further official West German services in West Berlin. According to a statement by a spokesman of the West Berlin CDU on 30 November 1966, Amrehn demanded that Federal Chancellor Kiesinger and West German President Lübke should establish a second official seat in West Berlin. (See *Der Tagesspiegel*, West Berlin, 1 December 1966)

West Berlin Senator for Economic Affairs König also called for the establishment of further West German ministries in West Berlin. He emphasized that the Ministry of Science and Research, for example, as well as the "All German" Ministry and the so-called German Research Institute and other services could establish their headquarters in West Berlin. (See *Frankfurter Allgemeine*, 7 December 1966)

It goes without saying that all these projects, which are in flagrant contradiction to the legal status of West Berlin as a special territory on the territory of the German Democratic Republic, could only serve to bring the tense atmosphere to the boil as a source of provocation and to misuse West Berlin as a bridgehead for the aggressive Bonn plans against the GDR and the other socialist states.

THE OLD EASTERN POLICY WITH NEW TACTICS

In a Blind Alley

West German foreign policy and in particular the so-called eastern policy suffered a fiasco during the past period. The sole representation pretension based on a position of strength and coercion, and the demands for frontier revisions increasingly headed towards a blind alley and Bonn's foreign policy isolation.

The Kiesinger/Strauss government thus drew the conclusion that a "new" eastern policy would have to be devised.

Rainer Barzel, chairman of the CDU/CSU Bundestag group, very quickly revealed the "new" aspect of that policy:

"Our juridical, moral and historical positions remain unchanged. Our methods can and must be changed . . ." (R. Barzel in the Bonn Bundestag, quoted from SFB III, 1 February 1967)

The West German government thus intends to conduct a tactical manoeuvre with a view to bringing its "eastern policy" out of the blind alley, at the same time retaining its original aims, i.e. the sole representation pretension and the correction of the results of the Second World War.

Appearance and Reality

"Germany was for centuries the bridge between Western and Eastern Europe. We should like to fulfil that function also in our period. We are therefore anxious to improve and establish relations with our eastern neighbours who have the same desire in all domains of economic, cultural and political life." That was the siren call of Kiesinger's government declaration. (*Bulletin des Presse- und Informationsamtes der Bundesregierung*, No. 157, Bonn, 14 December 1966)

These words by Kiesinger constitute a falsification of history. The role which imperialist Germany chose to play since 1917 was not to be a bridge between east and west, but to be an anti-communist bridgehead of the struggle against socialist developments in the east.

Edward Ochab, Chairman of the Council of State of the People's Republic of Poland, aptly characterized the Bonn demagoguery in Lodz on 22 February 1967:

"The government of Herr Kiesinger uses somewhat more moderate language than the government of Herr Erhard or that of the well-known Herr Adenauer. Yet it pursues the same unrealistic, adventurist and aggressive aims. With the aid of empty words about an alleged change in the eastern policy and with nebulous indications concerning economic advantages to be granted to those partners willing to believe in the magic of their phrases and gesticulations, the strategists of cold war in Bonn are striving to differentiate between the so-

A further documentary proof of the official annexation claims of the Bonn regime is the Pocket Book for Conscripts and Reserves of the Bundeswehr—revised by Colonel Karst, Government Director Schnell and Captain Seidel. A map with the German frontiers of 1937 is printed with the title "Our

State—the Federal Republic of Germany" and under it the pledge of the Bundeswehr soldier: "I pledge to serve the Federal Republic loyally and to defend the right and freedom of the German people."



cialist countries and to divide them. They are expressly aiming at the isolation of Poland and Czechoslovakia, countries which were the first objects of Hitler aggression, and in particular at further discriminating against the GDR, the country whose existence and development the West German imperialists consider as a mortal danger to the foundations of their class domination." (*Allgemeiner Deutscher Nachrichtendienst*, 22 February 1967)

In a noteworthy article in the Cologne *Blätter für deutsche und internationale Politik*, 1966, No. 1, on "Appearance and Reality" of Bonn policy, the author, Klaus Ehlers compares the "selective" or "partial relaxation" as a component of Bonn's "eastern policy", with the means of fascist foreign policy before the Second World War, stating:

"During the period before the Second World War Hitler practised similar manoeuvres of tactical diplomacy in order to divide the ranks of his later objects of attack, i.e., a simultaneous and sincere relaxation to all sides was alien to him, he preferred the way of successive, bilateral individual moves in the selection of his negotiation partners and victims of aggression. Up to the very late establishment of the allied war coalition... the Reich chancellor at the time was lucky and successful with that method of selective relaxation and subsequent selective seizure: Austria, Czechoslovakia and Poland were the victims of that mixed technique phased in time of soft and hard individual actions."

And Again: Permanent Aggression

The meaning of this "eastern policy program" beyond doubt consists in the striving to be able to adhere to the sole representation pretension despite the possible settlement of relations with the socialist states of Europe, with a view to misusing the allies of the GDR for the legalization of this program of aggression. The following quotations from speeches and writings by leading West German politicians confirm this:

"It will be our task to seek new ways which will release us from the rigour of the status quo." To begin with "fear and suspicion towards Germany in Eastern Europe would have to be further reduced"; but "we shall make sure that our actions remain recognizable for what they are—moves towards reunification, *not towards recognition of the status quo*." (K. G. Kiesinger, *Bulletin des Presse- und Informationsamtes der Bundesregierung*, Bonn, No. 162, 29 December 1966)

That point of view was expressed even more bluntly by Franz-Josef Strauss:

"A policy directed towards consolidating the status quo is basically incompatible with a policy aiming at European unity. Every move towards European unity and thus towards the strengthening and autonomy of Europe will result in a *change of the status quo*, of

course in favour of the west." (F.-J. Strauss, *Entwurf für Europa*, Stuttgart, 1966, p. 102)

In a speech at the Hamburg Overseas Club Rainer Barzel declared the changing of the status quo—i.e., of the present situation including the existing frontiers—as the aim of Bonn policy. "We must do this. And in a world desirous of tranquility, little excitement and most of all—let us be honest—little change." In that world such a policy would become a blow to convenience. (DPA, 20 February 1967)

State Secretary Lahr stated on his return from the Hungarian People's Republic, which he visited in January 1967, in an interview with radio station SFB:

"We are of course confronted with the problem of not being able to allow any misunderstandings about the fact that the establishment of diplomatic relations with a country such as Hungary or Rumania could not imply the abandonment of our policy in regard to Germany." (SFB interview of 26 January 1967 on the negotiations in Hungary)

Ernst Majonica, foreign policy spokesman of the CDU, expressed the same presumptuous demand:

"We should like to improve our relations with our eastern neighbours on all levels. Yet they, too, must have this desire... Yet no one could expect us to surrender, and we offer surrender to no one. The government of the great coalition will not be a government of the great surrender... The establishment of diplomatic relations can not be a bonus for an entirely anti-German point of view." (*Trybuna Ludu*, Warsaw, 22 January 1967)

"The establishment of diplomatic relations with Rumania is no turning point in German policy, but a milestone on the straight way of German policy towards the long-proclaimed objective..." Barzel said in the West German Bundestag. (SFB, 1 February 1967)

The further set aims of the "new eastern policy" were also indicated on various occasions by West German Foreign Minister Willy Brandt, thus for instance in his speech at the Consultative Meeting of the Council for Europe in Strasbourg in January 1967:

"A beginning must be made where this is possible. With little steps where big ones are not yet possible. Yet the focus must be constantly concentrated on bigger solutions... Practical successes can start developments which will one day allow a levelling of interests in spheres where today this can not yet be achieved." (W. Brandt, 24 January 1967, at the Consultative Meeting of the Council for Europe, in *Bulletin des Presse- und Informationsamtes der Bundesregierung*, Bonn, No. 8, 26 January 1967)

The Testament of Wenzel Jaksch

These indications of the ultimate aims of Bonn's eastern policy recall the conception recommended on several occasions to governments in Bonn by one of the most

Bonn's territorial claims endanger European security. As the illustrations from a leaflet of the radical right-wing "Aktion Oder-Neisse" proves, claims to territories of the Peoples Republic of Poland, the USSR and the Czechoslovak So-

cialist Republic are simultaneously being made under the slogans "Freedom for East Germany" and "Germany's re-unification".

Polnische Kinder in Ostdeutschland

Wird man durch Kinder Eigentümer eines gestohlenen Hauses?
Aus einem Flugblatt der rechtsradikalen „Aktion Oder-Neiße“

Freiheit für Ostdeutschland und Sudetenland

Revanchisten?

Freiheit für Ostdeutschland

Ol goß Polen auf die Feuer des Krieges

Entschädigung für Polen?

Trotz Polens Mitschuld am Krieg:
Seit 18 Jahren beutet polnische Millionenbevölkerung Ostdeutschlands Reichtümer aus!
18 Jahre – Milliarden Dollar – noch nicht genug?

Germany free and undivisible!
Liberté et Autodetermination aussi pour l' Allemagne

AKON e.V. Aktion Oder-Neiße 282 HB-Vegesack
Verantw.: T. Wiczorek, Blumenhorster Str. 16 Friesendruck Zetel

Deutschlands Wiedervereinigung

ist nicht mit der Beseitigung der Berliner Mauer und der Zonengrenze vollendet. Auch hinter Oder, Neiße, Erzgebirge und Böhmerwald liegt deutsches Land. Wehren wir uns gegen Verichtspropaganda und fordern uneingeschränktes Selbstbestimmungsrecht für ganz Deutschland:

Oder-Neiße Linie

- = **Westdeutschland**
(= Hamburg – Bremen – Bonn – München – Nürnberg – Kassel – Hannover – Lübeck)
- + **Mitteldeutschland**
(= Greifswald – Rostock – Magdeburg – Erfurt – Dresden – Leipzig)
- + **Ostdeutschland**
(= Stettin – Breslau – Bieltitz – Thorn – Danzig – Königsberg – Memel)
- + **Sudetenland**
(= Eger – Karlsbad – Reichenberg)

zusammen!

Die Natur will unwiderstehlich, daß das Recht die Obergewalt behalte
(Philosoph Immanuel Kant, Königsberg 1795)

fervent protagonists of the "eastern political forward strategy", the late president of the "Federation of Expelled Persons", Wenzel Jaksch. Jaksch said it was obvious for the federal government.

"... jointly with the allies to conduct an eastern policy with the aim of reestablishing a free whole Germany... With this aim in mind, the federal government should seize every possibility for bringing about the normalization of relations between the Federal Republic and the countries of Eastern Europe, without abandoning vital German interests..." (W. Jaksch, *Westeuropa-Osteuropa-Sowjetunion*, Bonn/Brussels/New York, 1965, p. 7)

As regards relations with the socialist countries Jaksch stated:

"... The real dilemma consists in the question of how one could help the peoples and countries of Eastern Europe without strengthening their communist governments... Only if the whole of the European West proclaims its readiness to respond to every manifestation of evolutionary development in the eastern bloc by a policy of economic partnership, will the forces of movement with clear objectives be able to rise against the forces of stagnation..." (Ibid., p. 12 ff)

The continuity of the West German eastern policy from Jaksch to Kiesinger and Strauss becomes clearly discernible in a confrontation of Strauss' utterances on the status quo with the following words by Jaksch:

"If it is possible to bring about a new situation by means of some development in world politics, a situation of negotiations with the eastern bloc, we shall naturally have to proceed according to the ABC's, and we shall not say: Danzig first. I do not want to say anything against Danzig. But we shall of course say: Berlin comes first, Central Germany is the most urgent..." (W. Jaksch in the West German television broadcast "Unter uns gesagt", 30 June 1965)

Protective Obligations-Camouflage for Revanchism

Turning to Czechoslovakia, Federal Chancellor Kiesinger stated in his government declaration of 13 December 1966:

"The federal government... approves the conception that the Munich Agreement, concluded under the threat of violence is no longer valid. Nevertheless problems still remain that call for a solution, such as, for example, that of the right of citizenship. We are aware of our protective obligations in regard to our Sudeten German compatriots and to all other refugees driven from their homes, and we take those obligations seriously." (German Bundestag, 5th electoral period, 80th session, Bonn, 13 December 1966, p. 3662)

The exact meaning of the so-called protective obligations will be understood by recalling the meeting of the Association of Sudeten German Fellow Countrymen in

Stuttgart in 1965. The then Minister of Transport Hans Christoph Seebohm had stated in the presence of Kiesinger, at the time prime minister of Baden-Württemberg: "We demand the return of the stolen Sudeten German homeland to the Sudeten German population."

The present Chancellor Kiesinger observed in his address to the more than one hundred thousand participants of the meeting:

"The question as to when and how we shall succeed in reassembling the ruins of the old Bismarck empire is completely open. Who in all the world could reproach the German people for wishing with all the force of their heart and will this bringing together of its divided nation and fatherland?... At the moment when communist tyranny is spreading out over a country, that country becomes alien to us, it appears as though covered by mildew, and only with free people over there will a solution one day be found."

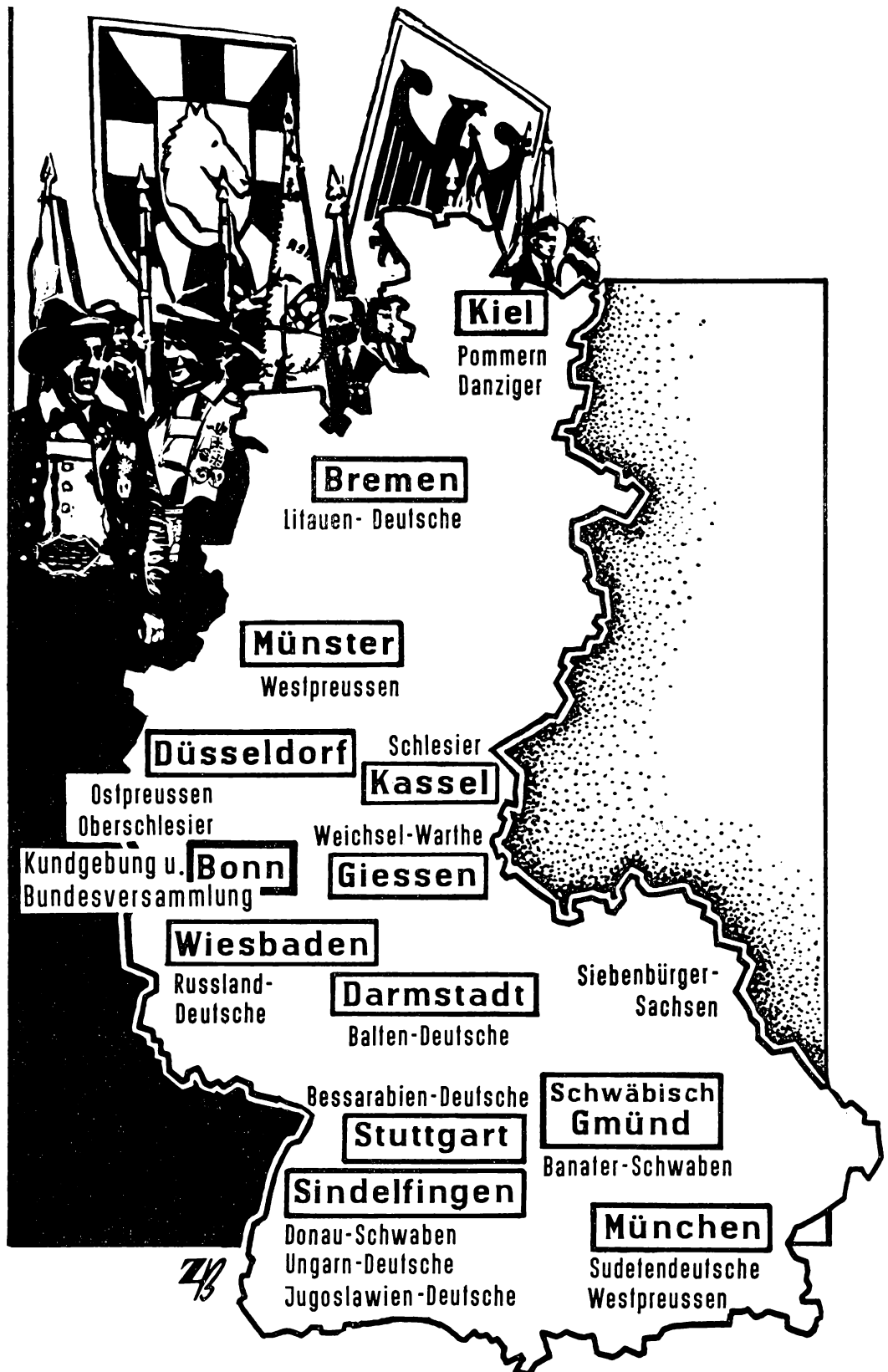
"Living Space" in Foreign States

According to the Press and Information Service of the Sudeten German Council "East and West" of 15 December 1966 (editor: Dr. Walter Becher, CSU member of the Bundestag), Federal Chancellor Kiesinger, in reply to questions by various spokesmen of the CDU/CSU Bundestag group stated that "the protection of the Sudeten Germans by the Federal Republic" comprised their "right to their homeland and to self-determination".

The Association of Sudeten German Fellow Countrymen, led by an ex-federal minister and other politicians of the government parties, and recognized and promoted by the federal government as "representative of the Sudeten Germans", has often clearly and unequivocally expressed the significance which it attributes to the "right to the homeland and to self-determination". This association of fellow countrymen claims extensive territories of Czechoslovakia and states that it wished to exert exclusive rights to decide whether those territories should remain as autonomous regions within Czechoslovakia or join other states. The spokesman of the Association of Sudeten German Fellow Countrymen, ex-Federal Minister Hans Christoph Seebohm said at the end of 1966 in a speech at the "All-German Week" in Brakel/Höxter rural region:

"... we want a Europe in which we can again fill in our living space with our compatriots as German people... we want to restore that space in such a way that freedom and justice and humanity become a matter of course." (*Neue Kommentare*, Frankfurt-on-Main, 1967, No. 1)

Revanchist meetings in West Germany in 1966. The illustration shows the towns (encircled) and names the revanchist organizations which assembled in the respective places.



Birds of a Feather in the Cabinet

It is therefore only logical that the Munich paper *Sudetendeutsche Zeitung* of 18 November 1966 should have welcomed the nomination of Kurt-Georg Kiesinger as chancellor candidate:

"By virtue of this decision a man is to take the steering wheel of the Federal Republic in hand, . . . whom the Sudeten Germans can also regard as their political friend."

The "strong man" of the Kiesinger government, Minister Franz-Josef Strauss is also considered by the revanchists as one of their men. The *Mitteilungsblatt der Sudetendeutschen Landsmannschaft* (November 1966) reported on the so-called Sudeten German Homeland Day in Regensburg (Bavaria) on 22 and 23 October 1966 as follows:

"Dr. Böhm considered the statement of CSU Chairman Strauss on the Munich Agreement and his position at the latest CSU Party Congress against compromises and readiness to renounce, as an encouragement not to tire in our rightful struggle. The meeting thanked the speaker with lively applause."

The following was reported about the statement of the spokesman of the Association of Fellow Countrymen:

"In this connection the interview granted to the Sudeten German paper by CSU Chairman Franz-Josef Strauss was gratefully mentioned, in which he in particular defended the rights of the Sudeten Germans. A telegram of thanks was addressed to the CSU chairman in appreciation of his clear statement."

A similar revanchist spirit characterizes the attitude of the West German government towards the People's Republic of Poland. In his government declaration of 13 December 1966 Kiesinger said in regard to Poland:

"The ardent desire for reconciliation with Poland prevails among broad sections of the German people, we have not forgotten the history of sufferings of that country or its longing, at last to live in a state territory with secure frontiers . . . we understand . . ."

And further on:

"But the frontiers of a reunified Germany could only be fixed in a freely negotiated settlement with an all-German government . . ." (German Bundestag, 5th electoral period, 80th session, Bonn, 13 December 1966, p. 3662)

This statement by Kiesinger shows that a policy is to be continued and conducted in a more flexible way, a policy which Rainer Barzel for instance described in the following words:

"Our all-German positions are against the stabilization of the status quo in Germany and Europe. As long as we—supported by the free world—refuse to accept the facts established by the communists in Germany, we are not only keeping open the German question, but we are at the same time becoming effective against the finality of the stabilization of the status quo in Europe. *The non-recognition of the zone and the Oder-Neisse line*

fulfils a European function . . . for the destiny of the Europeans under communist domination is a matter of concern to us—a matter of political, historical and moral concern." (*Die Welt*, West Berlin, 30 October 1965)

Franz-Josef Strauss is also known for making the fulfilment of the West German frontier demands the condition for the establishment of a "peaceful order" in Europe.

"In my talks in the USA I explained that the Federal Republic of Germany . . . would struggle with all political means for the restoration of the frontiers of the German Reich of 1937 . . . with a view to providing lasting conditions and a peaceful order throughout the whole of Europe." (*Bayern Kurier*, Munich, 25 June 1965)

The Minister for "All-German Affairs", social democrat Herbert Wehner, developed the same basic principles of the West German attitude towards the People's Republic of Poland in talks with the publicist Günter Gaus. In reply to the question of whether the attitude of the Bundestag parties on the Oder-Neisse question could keep up or create feelings among West German voters, which might one day hit back against the ruling forces of the Federal Republic, Wehner said, among other things:

"They are two quite different questions whether I could impose a right or whether I could maintain a right that cannot be imposed. If it cannot be done, then this will be so for a more or less long period; then the question remains unsettled between those states or powers until the time when a solution can be achieved!"

(G. Gaus, *Staatserhaltende Opposition oder "Hat die SPD kapituliert?"*, Hamburg 1966)

One of the first official actions of the new West German revanchist Minister von Hassel and of the new Minister for "All-German Affairs" Wehner was to conduct clarifying and coordinating talks with leaders of the associations of fellow countrymen. Von Hassel had invited representatives of the press of the associations of fellow countrymen to a reception at the Press Club in Bonn on 16 December 1966 to explain to them, so it was said, his conception on his new office.

Questions on the government declaration were answered by von Hassel as follows, according to the *Ostpreussenblatt* of 24 December 1966:

" . . . that the new government would also base all its considerations on the concept of German unity within the frontiers of 1937".

The chairman of the Federal Board of the Association of Sudeten German Fellow Countrymen, Dr. Franz Böhm (former president of the nazi district court of the Sudetenland) gave a report on the results of a talk with Federal Minister for "All-German Affairs" Wehner on 18 December 1966 on the invitation of Wehner, in an open letter to the members and leaders of the Sudeten German Association:

"After this clarifying talk I may calm my fellow-countrymen. Federal Minister Wehner pointed out in the course of this talk that both in the government declara-

tion and in the supplementary statement by Foreign Minister Brandt and the acting SPD Bundestag group chairman Helmut Schmidt clear emphasis was laid on the obligations arising from the solemn declaration of protective duties by the German Bundestag of 14 July 1960.

Wehner further referred to the statement by the SPD chairman to the effect that no one could even subsequently demand approval of the bitter injustice of our exile from us . . . According to the government declaration of the new federal government the situation of the Sudeten Germans *had been improved rather than worsened* as compared to the declaration of Federal Chancellor Erhard, addressing the representatives of the Sudeten German group organization." (*Neue Kommentare*, Frankfurt-on-Main 1967, No. 2)

Cobweb of Revanchism

After the formation of the Kiesinger/Strauss government the division of labour between the federal government and the revanchist organizations practised for many years has become even more evident. Whereas official government representatives are striving to dress up their aggressive demands in pleasant-sounding words, Association leaders and their press organs are openly stating the significance of those words. The *Sudetendeutsche Zeitung*, for instance, made the following statement on Kiesinger's government program of 13 December 1966:

"The government declaration should be considered merely as a political orientation at the present time . . . It is the task of the Association of Sudeten German Fellow Countrymen to ensure that no false conclusions are drawn abroad and at home from the statement by Kurt Georg Kiesinger on the Munich Agreement . . . The Sudeten Germans at any rate will remember the call of the present federal chancellor when he was prime minister of Baden-Württemberg, addressed to the Sudeten German Day, appealing to them to continue being the source of creative unrest among our German people." (*Sudetendeutsche Zeitung*, Munich, 16 December 1966)

Two days after the declaration of the USSR government on the development of neo-nazism in West Germany, von Hassel defended the revanchist associations which "could not be denied the right to express their point of view on their east German homeland in statements on international and constitutional law". (K. U. von Hassel, interview with the CDU paper *Deutsches Monatsblatt*, quoted from DPA, 31 January 1967)

This perfect reciprocal cooperation is reflected in a clever system of revanchism and revanchist propaganda embracing all spheres of public life. This includes:

- the Ministry for "All-German Affairs" and
- the Ministry for "Expelled Persons, Refugees and War Victims".

- Over three hundred revanchist organizations headed by active nazis and war criminals, as a mass basis for the territorial demands of the federal government. All these are united in the central organization "Federation of Expelled Persons", which is closely associated with the federal government and with all parties represented in the Bundestag.

- Over three hundred and fifty newspapers published by revanchist organizations with editions of more than two million copies poison public opinion.

The federal government allocates more than five hundred million marks a year to these extensive revanchist activities at the expense of the West German tax-payer. Further millions are provided to the revanchists out of the budgets of provinces, cities and communities.

Hassel-Specialist in Counter-revolution

The most important institution of revanchism is the Federal Ministry for "Expelled Persons, Refugees and War Victims". This ministry is assisted by the so-called Federal Compensation Office and the Advisory Board of the Ministry. Those services also exist on a provincial level. It is hardly by coincidence that none other than von Hassel, Minister for Expelled Persons who became chief of all revanchist organizations, should have said as long ago as 21 August 1960 at a meeting of the Association of Pomeranian Fellow Countrymen:

"Our territorial demands reach far beyond the Oder-Neisse line; we want to recover the old German domains. The year 2000 must not be allowed to become the 83rd anniversary of the October Revolution in the world." (*Bulletin des Presse- und Informationsamtes der Bundesregierung*, Bonn, 21 August 1960)

(Further comprehensive material on the whole system of revanchist associations and their coordination with the Bonn government is provided by the documentary report of the National Council of the National Front; *An Unconquered Past*, Verlag Zeit im Bild, 1967-editor)

Manoeuvring Grounds Alto Adige

The policy of frontier revision claims pursued by the Bonn government not only threatens the GDR and the socialist states in the east and south east of Europe. Bonn does not even stop at its own NATO allies. Interesting evidence in this connection is provided by the machinations of the Association of Sudeten German Fellow Countrymen in Southern Tyrol.

The bourgeois Italian paper *Il Tempo* had proved as long ago as February 1961 that the Bundeswehr was training citizens of Alto Adige as guerrillas and that

those "guerrillas" were given West German citizenship. This clearly shows a parallel to Hitler's Fifth Column.

The bourgeois Italian paper *La Stampa* of 5 August 1966 observed:

"The seat of the headquarters of the terrorists is not in Alto Adige (called Southern Tyrol in the Federal Republic). It is between Innsbruck and Munich. Those who perpetrate the acts might well be inhabitants of Alto Adige, but they are led by Germans and Austrians and incited by them . . .

"The German refugees from the Sudetenland were particularly noted for their brutality; they came to Bavaria as the most fitting and hospitable place for nationalist fascism. Their true aim consists in putting into practice the new nazism coupled with the old nationalism, and this they attempt to do by starting their attack against the apparently weakest link in the chain—Italy. If they were successful in Alto Adige, then it would be the turn of the Sudetenland, Poland and even others . . ."

In the style of the Bonn Bundestag today this is expressed as follows:

"The subject of Southern Tyrol will always give rise to emotions among our people. These emotions are not an expression of revanchist Pan-Germanic resentment, they are the entirely natural expression of a people having a specific relationship towards the principles of international law. It is also natural that these manifestations of sympathy should increase with the geographic approach to the area of Southern Tyrol . . .

"Every cultural and economic contribution which might serve to preserve the substance of the German population of Italian nationality . . . deserves our full support." (Konstantin Prinz von Bayern, CDU/CSU, Protocol of the 64th session of the Bundestag, Bonn, 12 October 1966, p. 3076)

This kind of "support" includes the "Cultural Work for Southern Tyrol" initiated by the Sudeten German Association, training centre for terrorists, in which according to Italian press reports members of the Bundestag such as von Guttenberg, Zoglmann and Ertl as well as above all Franz-Josef Strauss are involved.

The Italian government proved the cooperation between terrorist elements in Alto Adige and members of the Bundestag, the federal government and West German organizations in a note to the federal government, with the enclosures "The Responsibility of Citizens of the Federal Republic of Germany for Acts of Terrorism in Southern Tyrol" and "Associations in the Federal Republic of Germany whose Activities are Linked with Southern Tyrol".

The Bundestag debate on 12 October 1966 could bring forth no other reply to the serious accusations of the Italian government, but to reproach them for "conscious calumny and conscious well-pollution". (S. Zoglmann, FDP, *ibid.*, p. 3078)

Yet for years the Sudeten German Association, its units and organizations such as the "Witiko-Bund", the

group of "Sudeten German Gymnasts", the "Sudeten German Educationists" and the youth organizations of the Association have been considering Southern Tyrol as a political manoeuvring ground for nationalist excesses. Training centres for the German Youth of the East (DJO) were set up there, such as that at Truden near Auer, and that is the destination of youth excursions for "frontierland experiences". (See Witiko-Brief 1958, series 6)

The issues of the official organ of the Association of Sudeten German Fellow Countrymen, *Sudetendeutsche Zeitung* of 26 April, 3 May and 10 May 1963 contain reports by "Witiko" member Fritz Grass on his activities in Southern Tyrol. He mentioned 11 lecture tours with a total of 42 meetings, and his "successful" activities in organizing youth groups.

Another method of influencing political developments in Alto Adige is the taking on of "patronages" for localities in Alto Adige by associations of fellow countrymen. Such "patronages" were taken over, for example, by the local organization of the Sudeten German Association of Geislingen for the mountain village of Rautern (Alto Adige), and by the "Egerländer Gmoi" over seven villages in the Ahr valley.

The weekly paper published by Bavarian Minister of Labour Hans Schütz (CSU), of the "Sudetendeutsche Ackermann Gemeinde", *Volksbote*, 14 April 1962, contained threats to Italy in typical nazi-style:

"It is not by coincidence that the most persistent opponents of Italy in Southern Tyrol include a number of men, clearly of 'Sudeten German' origin." And further on: "The Sudeten Germans therefore are in effect experts in the judgment of nationalist oppression policies, and we understand that Italy fears them. It should take care that the affair of Southern Tyrol does not have a similar outcome as that of Benesch . . ."

THE OLD IDEA: HEGEMONY IN WESTERN EUROPE

An important partial aim of Bonn's policy within the framework of its expansionist plans now as before consists in its striving for hegemony in Western Europe.

"The problem is not how (West) Germany is to be kept economically strong, but politically weak—that is a false premise. The problem is rather how political influence can be created with economic strength . . . In the long run there could not be a Germany which is an economic giant and a political dwarf. That is why German policy needs a European framework." (F.-J. Strauss, *Entwurf für Europa*, Stuttgart, 1966, p. 149 ff.)

Hegemony in Western Europe is to be the basis for the expansion of the power of West German imperialism over the whole of Europe.

Under the Kiesinger-Strauss government the German imperialists, with their typical inability to assess the reality of forces realistically, once more saw "the chance

of making the (West) German voice the leading voice of the West... to prove to be the leading power of a true Europe." (*Die Welt*, West Berlin, 12 February 1967)

Konrad Adenauer, who exerted a decisive influence on West German policy for 14 years, gave a new outline of that part of the program of West German imperialism, on visiting Spain in February 1967:

"Our aim – and this is my full conviction – could not remain a Europe of the Six. Spain, too, will have to be added... But we should also look towards the East when we think of Europe. Europe includes countries with a rich European past. They, too, must be given the opportunity to join. Europe must be great, it must be strong, it must exert an influence in order to be able to assert its interests in the arena of world politics." (*Rheinischer Merkur*, Cologne, 24 February 1967)

The EEC as an Instrument

In its striving for hegemony in Western Europe the Kiesinger/Strauss government considers the EEC to be a decisive instrument not only for economic expansion but also for political oppression. It throws its significant economic weight into the scales for this purpose. West Germany is the strongest "partner", economically, in the EEC. In 1965 its share in the "gross social product" of all EEC countries was 37.1 per cent (for purposes of comparison: France, 32.6 percent, Italy, 17.6 percent). West German industrial production is almost as great as that of all other EEC countries together and double that of France. West Germany accounts for more than 37 per cent of the exports of all EEC countries as against France with only 21 per cent. In the exchange of goods within the EEC West Germany accounts for more than 30 per cent and France for only some 20 per cent.

The West German monopolies are ardent defenders of the EEC integration. In the past they expressly worked for a strengthening of the "supra-national" organizations and still do so at present, that is, they are in favour of gradually transferring ever greater rights of sovereignty of the various states to the international state-monopoly bodies of the EEC organs. Here, too, West Germany relies on its economic strength in order to expand its political influence. Hitherto it was primarily France which opposed this policy. West Germany did not succeed in bringing about a qualified majority for resolutions on decisive questions and in strengthening the role of the supra-national authorities. Now the Kiesinger/Strauss government is again striving for a "reconciliation" with France. In this way it wants to engage France more for its own policy of expansion. For this government it is a matter of an aggressive policy towards the "east European neighbours" as well as assistance for the project of maintaining the Hallstein doctrine in the developing countries belonging to the French sphere of influence.

The policy of blackmail again became clear in connection with the West German-British negotiations on Great Britain's possible joining the EEC. On 1 February 1967 the West German News Agency DPA reported:

"Referring to the government statement, Kiesinger said about the impending visit of Wilson in Bonn... The question of Great Britain joining the EEC certainly raises big problems. He would make it clear to the British prime minister that the federal government could not regard the EEC solely from the economic point of view, but as a political community with a minimum of joint foreign policy."

But by "joint", West German imperialism understands nothing else but making West German policy the guiding principle for all other partners. On 14 February 1967 *Die Morgenpost*, West Berlin, in typical diction, wrote about such a presumption:

"The new federal government will no longer be among the most ardent supporters of the admission of Great Britain to the European Economic Community... (emphasis by the editor) There are many reservations on the German side against certain steps of British foreign policy. London's attitude towards the treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons is not always approved by all German politicians. The bilateral secret understanding between Great Britain and the Soviet Union gives cause to some suspicion in German political circles. Wilson's pressure for relaxation arrangements with the Soviets is sometimes greater than Bonn might think tolerable and desirable in German interests... And when on top of all this British Foreign Minister Brown – on the eve of his trip to Bonn – announced a change in his government's policy in regard to the recognition of the Oder-Neisse border, it is easy to understand that responsible people in the coalition government are not able to believe in an absolute equality of interests between Germans and the British."

Policy of Pressure

In their striving for hegemony the West German monopoly rulers can also depend on the strong personnel positions which they have achieved in the bodies of the so-called West European integration, such as the EEC, the European Coal and Steel Union, the European Atomic Community. Here are just a few of the functions in the EEC bodies:

West German Professor Walter Hallstein is the president of the EEC Commission. Hans von der Groeben is a member of the commission.

In addition West Germany provides the chairmen or vice-chairmen of almost all working groups of the Commission. Dr. Axel Herbst is the general director of the important first working group (foreign relations); Götz Schoffer is his deputy. Hans von der Groeben is vice-chairman of the second working group (economics and finance). Groeben is also chairman of the fourth

working group (competition) and vice-chairman of the sixth working group (agriculture) as well as the eighth working group (overseas countries and areas).

West German Freiherr Bernhard von Goeler is in charge of the important section for personnel questions. Twelve other sections of the EEC Commission are also presided over by deputies from Bonn.

With the help of these strong personnel positions, West German imperialism enforces political and economic decisions of the EEC Commission which are in accord with its interests. On 27 January 1967 the *Amtsblatt der Europäischen Gemeinschaften*, Cologne, for instance, reported that the government of the Netherlands was called upon by the Commission—according to Article 115 of the EEC Treaty—to limit the granting of import licences for artificial silk yarn from the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, since these imports would bring about the loss of a market for the West German artificial silk industry. Similar conditions were placed by the EEC Commission for the same reasons on the import of antimony-oxides from the USSR and the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

The far greater significance of the strong West German position in the apparatus of the EEC therefore results from the fact that, according to the rule of procedure, only questions can be debated in the EEC Council of Ministers for which there is a proposal of the Commission (the so-called initiative right of the Commission). Thus the Commission exerts a decisive influence on the agenda of the Council of Ministers. This procedure has been repeatedly used by West Germany in order to get the support of the EEC for important foreign policy aims of West German imperialism, in particular its sole representation pretension.

In this way the West German government also succeeded in having the recognition of the GDR by African states be grounds for excluding these states from associating in the EEC. Moreover, it exerted pressure on other EEC member-states to refrain from treating the GDR as "third party" in the commercial field. (France and the Netherlands had already accepted the GDR as "third party" in delivery contracts.)

The strong position of West Germany in the EEC Commission has already frequently been the subject of the sharpest controversy between the EEC states, particularly between France and West Germany.

Hence France—though with but little success—has repeatedly tried to limit the initiative right of the Commission. The attempts made to replace Hallstein are also directed against West German attempts to enforce West German aims in relation to the EEC partners, or in the name of the EEC in relation to third parties, with the help of the EEC Commission, under the pretence of supra-nationality.

The Penetration of Key Positions in NATO

The West German government naturally also regards NATO as an important instrument for obligating the other West European countries to support the expansionist West German policy. With the help of this aggressive military pact it attempts, even more than in the past, to enforce the West German plans for hegemony.

The growing influence of the West German military on key positions in NATO is particularly noteworthy. On 1 July 1966 West German General Adolf Graf von Kielmansegg took over the supreme command of NATO forces in Central Europe (AFCENT). Thus one of the most important NATO command posts has passed into the hands of West German militarists.

In addition to the entire West German army, the NATO commander-in-chief in Central Europe is in charge of: the 7th US army and the 17th air fleet, both equipped with nuclear weapons:

the British army of the Rhine and the British air force in West Germany, which are also equipped with nuclear weapons; the NATO territorial and air forces of Belgium, the Netherlands and the Canadian units stationed in Europe.

A West German news magazine assesses the role of the NATO commander-in-chief in Central Europe in the following manner:

"According to the present regulation..." the NATO commander-in-chief in Central Europe "would wage the war from the Baltic Sea to the Alps on his own. SACEUR (NATO supreme command in Europe) would only give general directions. SACEUR could not act as the solely responsible operational commander, who would have to deal with every land, air and sea operation from the North Cape to east Turkey." (*Der Spiegel*, Hamburg, 13 June 1966. See also the chapter on "The Bundeswehr".)

It is also the Bonn state which presses within NATO for the forward strategy which is directed against the east. Through its predominance over the other European states, West German imperialism finally wants to obtain domination over the whole of Europe.

THE CONSPIRACY WITH US IMPERIALISM

In the plans for domination in Europe, West German imperialism now as before reckons with the alliance with US imperialism. This is so although for some time opposing interests in a part of West German monopoly capital have become obvious as a result of an intensified competition, the increase in economic difficulties and above all the extension of their own armament potential.

In spite of these contradictions, the Kiesinger/Strauss government decided to consolidate the link with US capital, in the interest of implementing its program for

expansion. Furthermore, the US government has with great emphasis, as one of the first acts of the new government in Bonn, enforced the tribute payment of 2.8 thousand million marks as foreign currency adjustment.

The affirmation of the alliance with US imperialism is the means to an end for the rulers in Bonn:

First—this time together with the USA—Bonn wants to make the third attempt for a “new order in Europe”, which corresponds to the old conceptions of German imperialism. The USA is to be tied to the revanchist demands against the GDR and other socialist countries by means of economic obligations.

Secondly, Bonn wants to get the approval and support of the USA for its atomic armament plans, whereby the American trusts which were granted full rights in West Germany are expected to exert their influence in Washington in favour of West German demands.

Thirdly, by way of an active participation of the American trusts in the West German armament programs, Bonn wants to exploit their scientific technological lead for the consolidation of its own armament and war economy potential.

Fourthly, Bonn wants to consolidate the anti-democratic front of the West German bourgeoisie through the economic engagement of the Americans.

All Bonn governments, from Konrad Adenauer to Kurt Georg Kiesinger, have never left any doubt about their fundamental willingness to let American capital flow into West Germany without hindrance. Erhard had stressed already in 1963:

“We shall certainly do nothing to control or reject American investments.” (*Die Welt*, Hamburg/West Berlin, 18 February 1963)

In 1966 Erhard again officially confirmed the policy of the “open door”:

“The federal government adopts a fundamentally positive attitude towards... foreign investments in West Germany, as well as German investments abroad... The close international involvement in the sphere of capital, particularly the presence of American capital, is also of great political significance.” (*Bulletin des Presse- und Informationsamtes der Bundesregierung*, Bonn, 28 August 1966)

Meanwhile his successor Kiesinger has clearly expressed his intention of continuing the policy of close ties with the USA in his government statement:

“We are closely linked with the United States of America by manifold friendly ties and the North Atlantic Pact, the consolidation and timely development of which is an important matter to us. This government will not forget the great assistance rendered to us by the United States in the past two decades. We know that the alliance with the United States and the other partners of the North Atlantic Pact is of *vital importance* to us today and in the future, as we are able to survey.”

(*Bulletin des Presse- und Informationsamtes der Bundesregierung*, Bonn, 14 December 1966, p. 1269)

Karl Schiller, Minister of Economics in the Kiesinger/Strauss cabinet, explained the political line for the future position of the Bonn government towards foreign, above all American investments. About this it was said: “According to the reply of Federal Minister of Economics Schiller to an inquiry in the Bundestag, the federal government is not of the view that disadvantageous consequences will result from the size of the share of foreign capital in German enterprises. On the contrary, it regards a more intensive international capital involvement as *advantageous* for the development of its own national economy...”

“At present the federal government... sees no cause to take special measures against international monopoly enterprises or cartels...” (*Frankfurter Allgemeine*, 30 December 1966)

Among all other countries of the capitalist world West Germany, after almost ten years of the American capital offensive, has moved to the third position in regard to the investment spheres of US capital.

According to provisional data, American investments in West Germany reached almost three thousand million dollars in 1966.

“A further growth in investments by about eight to ten per cent is expected” for 1967 “so that the American investments in the Federal Republic will amount to about 3.3 thousand million dollars. This is all the more noteworthy since... German industry is at the same time limiting its investment activity. According to calculations of the Ifo-institute, American enterprises in Germany will provide almost 16 per cent of the investments in the manufacturing industry in the current year.” (*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, Munich, 19 January 1967; *Ifo Schnelldienst*, Munich, No. 49, 9 December 1966)

According to estimates of the German Institute of Economics, Berlin, the investments of American monopolies in West Germany have at present a value of some 25 thousand million marks of the entire foreign capital amounting to 60 thousand million marks. In the course of fifteen years the value of American direct investments in the West German economy have increased by twelve times:

1950	204 million dollars
1955	332 million dollars
1960	1,006 million dollars
1965	2,417 million dollars

(US Department of Commerce, Office of Business Economics, *Survey of Current Business*, Washington, 1966, No. 9, p. 34)

Seven hundred of the 1,000 largest American companies have settled down in Western Europe, most of them in West Germany. In 1965 North American investments in the EEC area amounting to 6,254 million dollars were spread as follows:

38 per cent in West Germany

25 per cent in France

16 per cent in Italy

11 per cent in the Netherlands

9 per cent in Belgium-Luxembourg (ibid.)

Thus West Germany has become the favourite stepping-stone for American monopoly capital for its economic conquest of the Common Market.

“The majority of American firms name the developing European market as the main motive for their direct investments.” (*Frankfurter Allgemeine*, 10 April 1965)

In the interest of the policy of expansion the involvement of leading American concerns producing nuclear weapons, aircraft and rockets with West German enterprises has been particularly intensified:

US Concern	West German Firm	Kind of Link*
1. General Electric Co., New York	AEG Allgemeine Elektrizitätsgesellschaft, West Berlin-Frankfurt-on-Main (with trust companies, among others Telefunken AG, Olympia Werke GmbH) Osram GmbH, West Berlin-Munich International General Electric Co. GmbH, Frankfurt-on-Main International General Electric Operation AG, Bad Godesberg Elektronische und Luftfahrtgeräte GmbH, Bonn Lineta N. & P. M. Rasmussen, Hamburg Nucletron, Gesellschaft für Nucleonie und Electronic, mbH, Munich	more than 10 %/ licence 21.45 %/ 100 %/ 100 %/ 100 %/ distribution distribution
2. United Aircraft Corp., East Hartford	United Aircraft Export Corp. Cologne Vereinigte Flugtechnische Werke GmbH (VFW), Bremen Henschel Flugzeug-Werke AG, Kassel	branch 26 %/ licence
3. The Boeing Co., Seattle, Wash. and Vertol Division Boeing Airplane Co., Morton, Pa.	Bölkow GmbH, Munich-Ottobrunn Boeing International Corp., Information Office Fa, Germany, Bad Godesberg Fa. Schreiner & Riotdorf (Aero Commerce), Coblenz	25 %/ branch represent- ative
4. Lockheed Aircraft Corp., Burbank, Calif.	Lockheed Aircraft Corp., Munich Deutsche Commerz GmbH, Frankfurt-on-Main Messerschmitt AG, Augsburg Eltro GmbH & Co., Gesellschaft für Strahlungstechnik, Heidelberg Alfred Teves, Maschinen- und Armaturenfabrik KG, Frankfurt-on-Main	branch represent- ative licence licence and distribution licence
5. Hughes International, a Division of Hughes Aircraft Co., Culver City, Calif.	Hughes International, Bad Godesberg	branch
6. The Perkin-Elmer Corp., Norwalk, Conn.	Bodenseewerk Perkin-Elmer & Co. GmbH, Überlingen/Bodensee	100 %
7. Bell Aircraft Corp.	Motorflug GmbH, Coblenz	represent- ative
8. International Telephone and Telegraph Corp., New York	Standard Elektrik Lorenz AG, Stuttgart (with several subsidiary companies, among others, Graetz KG, Altena) Deutsche ITT Industries GmbH, Freiburg	95.43 %/ 100 %
9. Babcock and Wilcox Co., New York	Deutsche Babcock und Wilcox Dampfkessel-Werke AG, Oberhausen	100 %
10. North American Aviation Inc., El Segundo, Calif.	Interatom Internationale Atomreaktorbau GmbH, Bensberg	50 %/ (50 %/ Demag)
11. American Machine and Foundry Co., New York	AMF Deutschland GmbH, Frankfurt-on-Main AMF Technical Service Co., Wiesbaden	100 %/ branch
12. General Atomics Division of General Dynamics Corp., San Diego, Calif.	Gutehoffnungshütte Sterkrade AG, Oberhausen	licence

* Figures in per cent concern capital participations

THE BLOODY ADVENTURE IN VIETNAM

Corresponding to the continuation of the conspiracy between Bonn and Washington, the Kiesinger/Strauss government has right from the first minute been busy further escalating the support by its predecessors for the dirty US war against the Vietnamese people. The reason was stated already in the government declaration:

"This powerful nation (the USA—editor) has almost unwillingly found itself in a position after the last war which engages it on all continents. We should not forget this and think over how we can increase our share in the responsibility for maintaining world peace." (German Bundestag, 5th electoral period, 80th session, Bonn, 13 December 1966, p. 3663)

It was expressed a little more clearly by the new West German head of government Kiesinger at a dinner given at the Club of Foreign Journalists in Bad Godesberg. The West German press agency DPA reported on 20 January 1967:

"Kiesinger frankly admitted the existence of disagreements between himself and de Gaulle also on the judgment and assessment of the Vietnam war and the presence of American troops in Europe. In answer to the question whether he, like his predecessors, morally supported the American engagement, Kiesinger said: 'I have also expressed my opinion to President de Gaulle. I pointed out to him that we could not follow France's estimate of the war in Vietnam. I think I shall leave it at this statement'."

It is a fact that the Bonn government, since the beginning of the American aggression against the Vietnamese people, has had a greater share in this violation of international law than any other government in the world. Every military escalation of the USA was followed by an escalation of Bonn's support for Washington and the puppet regime in Saigon. As immediate payment for this, Bonn expects the support of the American government for the West German demands for access to nuclear weapons.

Death Notices

The employment of West German pilots and soldiers in the US intervention troops is the high point of West German participation up to now in the US war against the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam and the American raids on the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

On 25 June 1966 the West German Franz Xaver Wallner, who had been killed in Vietnam, was buried in the cemetery of his home town of Vilisburg/Bavaria.

On 15 July 1966 Franz Gerhard Prediger, called Frank, was buried in Mannheim. Members of his family published the following funeral announcement in several West German newspapers:

"It was a great shock to us to get the sad news that my dear husband, our good son, son-in-law, brother, brother-in-law and uncle

Frank Prediger

was killed in Vietnam at the age of 27, shortly before his return to the USA."

Prediger's relatives confirmed that Frank was a West German citizen even during his service in Vietnam. *Die Zeit*, Hamburg, also underlines on 22 July 1966 that US soldier Frank Prediger was a German.

The West German Hubert Schmidt had himself opposed his employment in South Vietnam by calling upon the West German Parliament. But even that could not prevent his transportation to Saigon. On 15 September 1966 Kurt Spitzmüller, FDP Bundestag member, read out an extract from a letter sent by Hubert Schmidt to his parents in West Germany on 3 September 1966:

"My dear ones, After endless attempts I have nevertheless landed in Vietnam. After 22 hours in the air, we arrived here in Vietnam on 31 August and in the distance I can hear shooting from all sides." (German Bundestag, 5th electoral period, 56th session, Bonn, 15 September 1966, p. 2718)

Exports for Aggression

Already in the period from 1960 to 1964 the West German monopolies had sent goods worth 533 million marks—mainly for the armament industry—to South Vietnam. This figure has been calculated from data given in the Düsseldorf *Handelsblatt* of 9 March 1961, 15 July 1964 and 23 August 1965.

In 1965 this sum increased by 64 million to 597 million marks. In 1966 these exports increased—according to the statistics on foreign trade of the Federal Statistical Office in Wiesbaden—by some 100 million marks. This makes up a total of about 700 million marks for West German exports of military importance to South Vietnam in the past seven years.

West German deliveries of goods to South Vietnam consist above all of equipment for armament factories, spare parts for war material, repair shops, coastal motor ships and road vehicles. The fact that there are also weapons among the exported goods—despite all West German denials—had to be admitted already in 1963 by *Der Spiegel*, published in Hamburg:

"South Vietnamese troops are trained in handling West German flame-throwers." (*Der Spiegel*, Hamburg, 24 July 1963, p. 12)

In addition to the transaction with some 5,000 American bombs, the news of which had become known internationally, which was shared by West German firms with the consent of the Bonn government, the British news agency Reuter reported from Washington on 21 April 1966 that the United States was buying back another 500,000 bombs and grenades from West Ger-

many for the Vietnam war. The agency quoted a relevant letter of Assistant Secretary John McNaughton of the US war department which proves that five million rounds of munition, 3,500 small weapons and 1,500 transmission sets are also being repurchased.

Credits for Dictators

The West German government does everything possible to keep the entire extent of armament credits granted to the regime in Saigon as a strict secret. This is why the figures published in West Germany often deviate from each other a great deal. *Die Welt*, Hamburg, for instance, reported on 95 million on 17 August 1964.

The negotiations on credits between Bonn and Saigon, however, imply that the entire sum of West German finance for South Vietnam amounted to 140 million marks already in 1964. In the middle of October the following year, General Secretary Phan van Thinh of the Saigon Foreign Office negotiated with the Ministry of Economics in Bonn—as officially expressed—“questions of economic cooperation, particularly in connection with financial assistance of the Federal Republic in the execution and planning of various projects”. (*Bulletin des Presse- und Informationsamtes der Bundesregierung*, Bonn 20 October 1965) It was in fact a matter of the employment of a further credit amounting to 75 million marks. The Bonn donations thereby increased to 215 millions. In the first half of 1966 the Saigon regime was granted as many as three allowances from the West German exchequer. According to data given by *Die Zeit*, Hamburg, on 22 April 1966 the federal government financed special deliveries to South Vietnam with another 17.5 million marks in the spring of the same year. On 28 June 1966 Bonn Ambassador Dr. Hermann Kopf and South Vietnamese dictator Ky signed a new credit agreement on 20 million marks in Saigon. This was reported by *Die Welt*, Hamburg, on 29 June 1966.

One day later the Federal Cabinet, according to “The Associated Press”, decided to provide another 25.4 million marks for Ky. This war supplement was granted on that 29 June 1966 when American bombers attacked the capital of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, Hanoi, and the seaport of Haiphong for the first time. This was an open and demonstrative approval of the further escalation of aggression against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam by the West German government. At that time West German war credits for the Ky regime had reached 277.9 million marks.

At the same time there was again political approval of the American war crimes. West German President Heinrich Lübke sent a telegram of sympathy to American President Lyndon B. Johnson and, according to “United Press International”, on 1 July 1966 press chief von Hase again welcomed on behalf of the federal government “all measures taken by the Americans in the past and present in South Vietnam”. On 11 August 1966

Ministerial Director Heinz Kirchner reported before journalists in Bonn about further “aid measures” for the regime in Saigon; he himself had returned on the very same day from South Vietnam as leader of a West German government delegation. According to *Associated Press* Kirchner said “. . . that the government in Saigon had been promised 100 buses and a complete workshop for them, to be paid for from development aid funds. . . . With this project which will cost about 10 to 12 million marks, the federal government will provide the government in Saigon with about 67 million marks up to and including 1967.”

Bonn’s war credits and allowances for the Saigon regime thus amounted, calculated on the basis of official data, to 344.9 million marks. West German trusts make additional profits from the allowances granted by Bonn for the terror campaign of the Saigon puppets against their own people. According to reports in *Die Welt* of 16 February 1965 “60 per cent of the bilateral German capital aid was tied” already in 1965 “to deliveries from the Federal Republic”. Thus, 50 million marks of the federal government’s credits were designated for a chemical complex which is to produce poison gas. As reported by the *Industriekurier*, Düsseldorf, on 5 November 1963, the necessary carburetion plant is being built by the Heinrich Koppers GmbH, Essen.

The Hamburg news magazine *Der Spiegel* wrote already on 24 July 1963 on page 12:

“The Federal Republic grants military aid to the government in South Vietnam.” According to the magazine this assistance includes “15 million marks to finance the building of ‘strategic villages’.”

These objects are concentration camps where about five million Vietnamese were imprisoned from 1964 to 1965 alone, in order to isolate them from the National Liberation Front. (See *Black Book—The Greatest War Crimes of Our Time*, published by the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, *Neue Zeit*, Moscow, 1966, No. 33, p. 39.)

Foreign Exchange Adjustment as Cover

The so-called payments for foreign exchange adjustments made for US troops stationed in West Germany, are an indirect financial support by the Federal government for the crimes committed by the USA in Vietnam. With these payments the West German government contributes greatly towards compensating the USA’s foreign exchange budget deficit arising from the war against the Vietnamese people.

“Informed quarters reported that there could be no doubt about West German willingness . . . fully to meet the foreign exchange adjustment, especially in view of the situation in Vietnam.” (*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, Munich, 30 December 1965)

The 5.2 thousand million marks paid by Bonn from the middle of 1965 to the middle of 1967 are not the

first sums granted to equalize the US foreign exchange balance. As early as 1963 and 1964, the West German government transferred 5.4 thousand million marks to the USA within the framework of the so-called offset agreement on the adjustment of foreign exchange. Thus the already paid or contractually assured war credits from Bonn for the USA amount to 10.6 thousand million marks.

Profits from the Poison Gas War

West German monopolies also have a share in the employment of poison gas by the Americans in Vietnam. These are above all the three successor trusts of IG-Farben which once produced the gas for Hitler's concentration camps.

The Belgian paper *Le Drapeau Rouge* reported on 24 July 1965 that Bayer AG, Leverkusen sold several patents to the US for the production of chemical weapons. Through one of its US branches, the Chemagro-Corporation in Kansas City, Missouri, the Bayer AG also delivers poison gas directly which is used by the US Chemical Corps in Vietnam. The trust in Leverkusen is kept informed currently about the results.

This kind of "Vietnam gas" is developed at the Bayer research centre in Wuppertal-Elberfeld by the director of the department for gas research, Dr. Gross, director Dr. Wolfgang Wirth, Dr. Gerhard Schrader and Dr. Otto Ambros. The latter three were engaged in research for the nazis. Schrader developed the poison gas Zyklon B for the concentration camps and Wirth was responsible for the development of the notorious "Tabun" nerve gas.

The Badische Anilin- und Soda-Fabrik AG (BASF), Ludwigshafen, through its three subsidiary companies in the USA and the Farbwerke Hoechst AG, Frankfurt-on-Main, likewise through two American branches are also involved in the "Vietnam business". The London periodical *Eastern World* wrote in its July-August edition of 1966 about West German participation in the US poison gas war:

"They (the Americans—editor) have shown great interest in the new and most effective poison gas which is being developed in West German laboratories on the basis of the gas produced by IG-Farben at the time of the Second World War. The German military leaders and a number of industrial firms in the Federal Republic are helping the Americans in their war of aggression in Vietnam... Thus an arrangement was made to send several experts from the Farbwerke Hoechst AG to the USA and to let the USA have the necessary technical data and documents for the production of gas with lethal effects of the Zyklon B type, which the nazis had used to a great degree in their concentration camps during the last war and which the Americans have already begun to use in South Vietnam for no less cruel purposes.

"According to recommendations of the American-German 'Military Strategical Guidance Centre' in Treves—which were approved by the governments of both countries—the most recent data on the production and employment of chemical and bacteriological weapons are being exchanged and compared with each other."

Technician with Pay-book

The Federal Republic is also very much engaged as far as personnel is concerned. Two variations are used in the main: The sending of "technical experts" as well as soldiers in American uniforms.

According to particulars published by the Economic Information Service *RF-World-News*, Bonn, of 8 February 1966, there were about 25,000 West German technicians in South Vietnam already at the beginning of February 1966, among them a large number of Bundeswehr soldiers. According to information in the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* of 28 February 1966 their number is to be greatly increased, possibly by tenfold; the paper learned about this from federal government quarters.

According to *United Press International* the Bonn cabinet decided on an extensive program of assistance for South Vietnam on 12 January 1966. The first step was to be the sending of the hospital ship "Helgoland", a decision which the (West) German television program "Panorama" assessed on 28 February 1966 as a "first step of pre-military participation".

On 26 January 1966 the Vietnam engagement was again on the agenda of the federal cabinet. Officially the *Bulletin des Presse- und Informationsamtes der Bundesregierung*, Bonn, of 28 January 1966 put it laconically like this: "The federal government attaches great political significance to the careful and exhaustive examination of the 'aid to Vietnam' problem... In view of the great material efforts of America, any purely material aid is of relatively small significance. The provision of personnel, however, is regarded as most valuable—also by our American allies."

The employment of construction teams plays a special role in the Vietnam "personnel" projects of the West German government. On 5 February 1966 the *Neue Rhein-Zeitung, Düsseldorf*, wrote:

"These German construction teams which are to build roads or bridges in Vietnam under conditions of a partisan war would be regarded as army engineering units; every mechanic would have to have a machine pistol in his tool-box."

On 3 February 1966 West German Minister of the Interior Lücke discussed the employment of construction teams in South Vietnam with representatives of the West German building industry; he discussed the same question one day later with William Mozzocco, President Johnson's special representative for Vietnam. Ac-

cording to the example of the fascist organization Todt, these teams are to build runways, bridges, port-installations and other objects of strategic importance for the American aggressors. On behalf of Lücke, CDU Bundestag member Heinrich Gewandt examined the conditions for the employment of West German construction teams and other experts on the spot from 7 to 11 February 1966. According to *United Press International* on 8 February 1966 Gewandt said in Saigon:

"The Federal Republic will in future substantially increase its aid to South Vietnam."

Legion of Bomber Pilots

On 3 September 1965 the West German weekly *Bauernruf*, Düsseldorf, revealed that the first contingent of Bundeswehr soldiers had arrived in Saigon already in the autumn of 1964. According to the report they were 120 members of the federal air force who were sent into action in American uniforms with American planes.

The paper referred to remarks made by a West German mother, whose son had fought in Vietnam from February to April 1965. On 26 June 1965 the "Panorama" program of the West German television confirmed the participation of West German pilots in American bombing attacks in Vietnam.

On 2 August 1966 the West German news agency DPA reported:

"The headquarters of the American forces in Saigon confirms, in reply to an inquiry, that an insignificant number of German citizens is employed in the American units in South Vietnam."

How "insignificant" this number is, is shown by the Bielefeld *Neue Presse* of 8 September 1966. The paper reports that "about 2,000 German citizens are fighting in Vietnam. After all that represents troops of regiment strength", the paper comments.

The employment of West German pilots in Vietnam is settled by a secret agreement between Bonn and Washington, the existence of which was pointed out by the *India Press Agency* in April 1966. In the same article the Indian news agency reported on a confidential circular of the then West German war minister von Hassel, which provides that West German pilots are allowed to sign agreements with the US air force to serve in Vietnam for a period of six to twelve months. After this period has expired they can either extend their agreement or return to the Bundeswehr. In case a pilot is wounded or killed, the West German Ministry of War will pay compensation.

The Heia Safari under a New Flag

Neither the Koran bound in Morocco leather on the desk of the new West German colonial minister Hans-Jürgen Wischnewski who has for many years been an

expert on development aid, nor the unctuous words which Kiesinger directed to the address of the former colonial countries in his first government statement, can conceal the fact that German imperialism has also entered a new phase of neo-colonialist expansion.

German monopoly capital and its political exponents are determined to intensify their neo-colonialist policy towards the developing countries in every field. Political tutelage and blackmail, neo-colonialist penetration and exploitation, expansion of markets, one's own sources of raw materials and especially the prevention of the national-democratic and noncapitalist development of young countries are today now as before the aims of their modern colonial policy.

Bonn's striving for hegemony goes as far as demanding a leading role permeated with a consciousness of mission in the style of Kaiser Wilhelm's "the world shall be saved by the German character". Bonn's ambassador to Israel, the nazi diplomat Rolf Pauls, wrote the following while he was still formulating doctrines in the policy department of the Bonn Foreign Office:

"We should take our place at the head of the developing political movement. We are predestined for that as an industrial nation which is not colonially incriminated." (*Aussenpolitik*, Stuttgart, 1965, No. 6, p. 381)

It was Franz-Josef Strauss, the exponent of CDU/CSU radicalism who—then still war minister, and together with the banker Hermann Josef Abs—organized Bonn's support for the Salazar regime in Portugal and its colonial war in Angola and Mozambique.

He created the atmosphere of confidence and arranged the delivery of machine pistols, armoured vehicles, bombs, and combat planes to the Portuguese colonial troops to the value of over 200 million marks. "The visit to Lisbon of Federal Minister of Defence Strauss ended on Sunday in a cordial and friendly atmosphere. The first direct, official meeting between influential military circles of the two countries to have taken place since Portugal and the federal government joined NATO has contributed considerably to the deepening of relations of trust between Bonn and Lisbon going beyond the military field." (*Die Welt*, Hamburg, 18 January 1960)

The delivery of 40 West German jet fighters to Portugal which took place in 1966 confirms the continuation of Bonn's participation in the suppression of the African liberation movement. In February 1967 the periodical *deutsches panorama*, Hamburg, No. 2/1967 interviewed a Bundeswehr colonel:

panorama: How do the machines actually reach Africa?

Answer: They are of course flown by German pilots.

panorama: Do they return immediately?

Answer: They remain there a while for purposes of guidance, of course.

panorama: For how long?

Answer: Well, I'm not so well informed about that. But if the job should require more time the pilots can be given leave from duty for a certain time. That's also a kind of development aid.

From these statements *deutsches panorama* asks: Does this mean that these development helpers in uniform participate in the suppression of revolts during alleged "police actions"? (*Deutsches Panorama*, Hamburg, 1967, No. 2, p. 13)

It was also Strauss who—once more together with Abs—organized the atomic plot between Bonn and racist South Africa and the economic support of the apartheid regime. Bonn increased trade with South Africa. All West German trusts of rank and name—from Krupp and Siemens to AEG and DEMAG to MAN and Bayer-Leverkusen have subsidiaries in South Africa and invest there. West German oil trusts have recently been trying to make the racists independent of oil imports by drilling in South Africa.

On the occasion of a demonstrative visit in April 1966 to the terror regime which is loathed by the whole humanistically thinking world Strauss joined the gallery of prominent persons from Bonn who, like Lübke, expressed their support of the fascist apartheid policy: "The native problem is in the good hands of the government." (*SPD-Pressedienst*, Bonn, 30 April 1959)

"After Ludwig Erhard and Heinrich Lübke CSU chairman Franz-Josef Strauss is the third prominent politician of the Federal Republic to visit South Africa. Wherever Strauss appeared he was called the 'former German defence minister' and a man who still plays an important role in Bonn politics. His positive assessment of the apartheid policy as a constructive program for solving the race problem was gratefully recorded. Economic circles considered it very promising that the CSU chairman wanted to do his utmost to increase German investments in South Africa within the framework of a worthy intensification of relations between the Federal Republic and South Africa." (DPA, 5 May 1966)

In the negotiations which Strauss and Kiesinger conducted with Economics Minister Diederichs in the Vorster cabinet in January 1967 in Bonn, this sympathy was transformed into a new stage of firm support; of course, both of them, the present Bonn government and the rulers of South Africa, are united by the spirit of fascism.

It was also Strauss who arranged for Bonn's support for the Smith regime during secret negotiations in Rhodesia in the summer of 1966. His coup which was worked out with the head of the Rhodesian "Reserve Bank", Bruce, and which was to supply the racist government with 25 tons of a separate currency failed at the last minute because the British secret service got wind of the money which was printed in Munich under the direction of Strauss. Due to English pressure and exposed to public opinion, the Kiesinger government was forced to seize the already packed cases. It has

therefore all the more explicitly sabotaged the UN embargo against the Smith regime. It considers the sanctions agreed upon to be "unrealizable" (*Frankfurter Allgemeine*, 3 January 1967) and steps up trade with Rhodesia.

Monopolies Want More

In the last ten years German imperialism has quietly rather than noisily regained considerable economic positions in the developing countries. It has found roots in the former colonial empires of its imperialist competitors and is now going over to forced expansion.

From 1957 to 1966 direct capital investments by West German monopolies increased from 514 to 1,615 million marks in Latin America, from 93 to 565 million marks in Africa and from 76 to 314 million marks in Asia.

In this period the West German government utilized about 17 thousand million marks within the framework of the state monopoly financial system as so-called development aid which helped the monopolies to increase their profits and extend their neo-colonialist positions.

In this period the monopolies staked 12 thousand million marks in the developing countries to finance the commodity export offensive.

The West German trusts have gained a footing in the lucrative raw material sources in Africa and Asia: Thyssen in Mauritania, Krupp in Angola, Mannesmann in Gabun, Hoesch in Guinea, Gelsenberg-Benzin-AG in Libya, Quandt in Algeria, the IG-Farben successors in Madagascar, Orenstein and Koppel in Indonesia, etc. For the first time in the history of German imperialism a consortium made up of August-Thyssen-Hütte-AG, Hoesch-AG, Rheinische Stahlwerke, Bochumer Verein and Dortmund-Hörder-Hüttenunion, operates an overseas iron deposit in Liberia on its own. In the last two and a half years West German investments in this small country alone rose from 79 to 134 million marks.

The network of big West German banks is again spreading over the Afro-Asian and Latin American countries. The Deutsche Bank alone—always a centre of the economic expansion of German finance capital—today has branches or participations in Tunisia, Togo, Senegal, Pakistan, Brazil, India, Morocco, Gabun, the Philippines, the Ivory Coast, Cameroon, Panama, Iran and other young countries.

In the past West German monopolies and their government were often forced to choose multilateral and collective colonialist institutions—such as the World Bank, the EEC and the Asian Development Bank among others—for its economic expansion in Asia and Africa.

"Multilateral capital aid mainly avoids the danger of a single giver being suspected of wanting to exert political influence on the recipient." (*Entwicklungsländer*, Baden-Baden, 1960, No. 2, p. 40)

The West German monopolies have now discarded these scruples. They and the Kiesinger/Strauss government are now openly announcing their *own* aims and boasting about their *own* interests, to which multilateralism constitutes a barrier. "Bilateral aid", independent capital export and for the realization of their own claims—that is the conception of the monopolies and the Kiesinger/Strauss government.

Minister Wischniewski explained: "Under me there will hardly be an expansion of multilateral aid." The expansion will "necessarily be conducted more extensively as bilateral aid." (*Industriekurier*, Düsseldorf, 22 December 1966)

The aim of the new Bonn government follows the same line, of forcing the neo-colonialist expansion of the monopolies through a stronger dependence of the so-called development aid on West German commodity exports, even when these goods are behind those of other countries in price and quality. "Through the strengthened dependence of German capital aid on deliveries Wischniewski hopes to contribute considerably to the improvement of the economic situation." (*Industriekurier*, Düsseldorf, 22 December 1966)

In this the new directors of the old-neo-colonialist policy do not stop at platonic declarations. Where—as in the case of the EEC over-sea funds—they are already tied to the collective colonialist institutions through payments already made, they are now demanding equivalents, greater influence and higher shares. West Germany has financed one-third of the 5.2 thousand million marks fund and now demands that more orders flow back to the West German monopolies than before. The Kiesinger/Strauss government now promises the monopolies "to bring about a change at all cost." (*Industriekurier*, Düsseldorf, 22 December 1966)

The French partner will be spoken to in plain German, the monopoly press having accused him of "dirty tricks". (*Industriekurier*, Düsseldorf, 29 November 1966) "Wischniewski is hoping for a German-French economic conference... which should correct the disproportion between Germany's contribution and incoming orders." (*Frankfurter Allgemeine*, 17 January 1967) If the West German monopolies do not accomplish their aims, they are threatening to close the treasury:

"If, however, everything should remain unchanged, then the inclination of the Bundestag to renew the agreements, which run only up to 1968 inclusive, through the EEC Development Fund will not be very strong." (*Ibid*)

Sole Representation Pretension towards the "Third World"

The transition to the open expansionist policy, which the Kiesinger/Strauss government has made, is very clearly expressed in the increased political pressure on the young nation-states of Asia, Africa and Latin

America. Whereas in the pursuance of its policy of revenge in Europe it has modified the Hallstein doctrine in its relations with the socialist countries, it is now applying it more sharply than ever to the nation-states.

Minister Wischniewski: "Since I have decisively cooperated in working out the conception of the (West) German development policy on the parliamentary level, there will be no basically new direction in (West) German development..." (*Bulletin des Presse- und Informationsamtes der Bundesregierung*, Bonn, 29 December 1966)

On the development policy up to now, it was always clearly stated that "the development aid has the task of finding ways and means of creating close cooperation and a long-term bond between developing countries and the Federal Republic and thereby the implementation of a number of foreign policy aims of the Federal Republic such as reunification, non-recognition of the Soviet zone (meaning the GDR—editor) and preventing the developing countries from being drawn into the eastern sphere of influence." (*Das Parlament*, Bonn, 23 March 1964)

Finally Foreign Minister Willy Brandt of the Kiesinger/Strauss government declared, unmistakably: "If, however, the countries of the Third World should recognize the East Berlin government, the Hallstein doctrine will be applied with all of its negative effects..." (*Frankfurter Allgemeine*, 4 January 1967)

In answer to the question of a reporter about the consequences of the recognition of the GDR by any state, the leader of the social democratic parliamentary group, Helmut Schmidt, posed the counter-question: "What does any state mean?" The reporter specified: "An African state!" Schmidt: "That would have to be regarded as an unfriendly act." (1st program of the West German television, 2 February 1967)

The Kiesinger/Strauss government is mobilizing the army of its own diplomats and even those of its NATO partners in order to communicate its threats to the governments of the nation-states in the form of memoranda and verbal notes.

Die Tat, Zürich, 26 January states:

"This instruction is practically to be a new warning to these states against diplomatic recognition of East Berlin... Parliamentary circles regard the memoranda action as a new formulation of the Hallstein doctrine, a formulation which allows communist states to have diplomatic relations with both parts of Germany... whereas it is regarded as bad if neutral states should take such action, and they are then answered with definite sanctions."

"Ben Wisch of Arabia"

The legendary figure of a Lawrence of Arabia is enjoying a current rebirth in the person of the new Federal

Minister for Economic Cooperation Hans-Jürgen Wischniewski, who likes to be called in pseudo-Arabic "Ben Wisch" by his friends. Whereas Colonel Lawrence, pretending to be pro-Arab, supported the struggle of the Arab peoples against the Ottoman empire, as far as this accorded with the interest of British imperialism in the struggle for domination of the Middle East "Ben Wisch" has been peddling West German-Arab friendship for more than a decade with the aim of making the Arab people submissive to Bonn's neo-colonialist expansion. Just as Lawrence of Arabia, working on behalf of the British secret service and the British military, fought for the favour of the Arabs in the endless deserts of the Near East, so does "Ben Wisch" of Arabia try to gain the confidence of the Arabs mainly on the stealthy paths of the Algerian-Tunisian frontier, as the *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, Munich, 2 December 1966, reported.

Bonn has for years engaged in a disgusting double deal against the Algerian people heroically fighting for their freedom. Whereas the official Bonn policy supported the French colonialists financially and economically within the framework of NATO and went as far as encouraging the recruiting of foreign legionnaires, an unofficial political line—calculating that the liberation movement might be victorious—pursued the aim of making contact with the leaders of the Algerian people to prevent the possible isolation of Bonn. Wischniewski undertook this task, which became the foundation of his career in the service of neo-colonialist expansion. The *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, Munich, openly stated on 28 March 1965: "Such special institutions have always

led to the point where the active politician today stands on extraordinarily sure ground with African leaders from Algeria to Angola." And the *Kölner Stadtanzeiger* of 23 December 1966 triumphs: "The engagement has paid off. The social democratic members of the Bundestag were the most prominent, the best known and the most honoured Germans."

Like Brandt, Wehner and other social democratic ministers Wischniewski, too, has helped to carry out the policy of the Kiesinger/Strauss government. As in other Bonn offices taken over by social democratic ministers, an unbroken continuity can also be seen in the conceptions and actions of the Ministry of Economic Cooperation. Wischniewski himself is full of praise for—as he puts it—the successful work of his predecessor Scheel, and he lets no opportunity go by of basking in this success and pointing to the fact that he played a considerable part in bringing it about. In an interview with *Christ und Welt*, Stuttgart, published on 23 December 1966, Wischniewski emphasized that he would "continue the policy of his predecessor Scheel, which he had helped to formulate while he was a member of parliament..." He would mainly "cultivate and expand good relations with German industry as minister. For only close cooperation between development policy and German industrial experience can achieve the maximum economic and political effect."

The characterization of Wischniewski as a political decoy and manager of neo-colonialist expansion coined by the *Kölner Stadtanzeiger* of 23 December 1966 is very apt: "Wischniewski knows how to sell his wares and himself."

THE OLD SERVANTS IN THE FOREIGN OFFICE

Brown Waist-coats in the Ministries . . .

There are important positions occupied by old nazis in the Bonn Foreign Office which is presently headed by social democrat Willy Brandt. The diplomatic cadres are being trained in the spirit of the imperialist policy of domination and conquest by these men.

Lahr, Rolf

State secretary

Before 1945 he was a member of the management of the Reich industry group, joined the NSDAP in 1933 (membership No. 2,637,673), was Rottenführer in the SA, government counsellor and consultant in the Reich Economics Ministry from 1933 to 1945.

Diehl, Dr. Günter

Ministerial director, head of the planning department

After the invasion of Belgium, he was made head of the wireless department in the radio policy department of

the fascist Foreign Ministry and later cultural and broadcasting consultant of the Vichy branch of the nazi embassy in Paris (1942–1944) as well as attendant to the fascist leader Doriot in the office of Ribbentrop in Neustadt on the Hardt (1944)

Wehrstedt, Dr. Friedrich Wilhelm

Inspector for foreign diplomatic and consular representations of the Bonn Foreign Ministry

Was a member of the NSDAP from 1933 (membership No. 2,151,075) and a staff member of Ribbentrop's office

Lane, Dr. Alexander

Reporting legation counsellor, 1st class, head of the "general personnel affairs" section in the Foreign Office

Worked in the Reich Propaganda Ministry before 1945, during the war was radio attaché in the fascist embassy in Sofia

Schwarzmann, Dr. Hans

Ambassador, chef de protocol

In the NSDAP since 1933 (membership No. 315,913), liaison man between the nazi ambassador in Paris, Abetz, and Ribbentrop. From 1942, specialist on France in the political department of the Reich Foreign Ministry

Hecker, Dr. Gottfried

Reporting legation counsellor, 1st class in the "peace settlements" section

This "peace settler" won his spurs in the Reich Foreign Ministry under Ribbentrop, finally as legation counsellor in the legal department

Lanwer, Dr. Ewald

Presently deputy head of the Bonn representation at the OEEC in Paris

Nazi consul in Apenrade (Aabenraa, Denmark) till 1945; responsible for the recruitment of folk German "volunteers" for the Waffen SS and for spying on Danish patriots.

Member of the NSDAP since 1933

Werz, Dr. Luitpold

Head of the cultural department

Before the Hitler war attaché, then legation secretary in Barcelona, Sydney and Pretoria/Capetown. During the war he was employed as a spy under the code name "Leo" by the nazi consulate in Laurence Marques (Portuguese East Africa) and he was therefore deported in 1944. Afterwards he was employed in the Gestapo department of the Foreign Office, member of the NSDAP since 1934 (No. 2,873,248)

Bassler, Hilmar

Reporting legation counsellor, 1st class, heads the "East Asian section"

Before 1945 he was legation secretary in Ribbentrop's ministry, responsible for department P VIII (propaganda in East Asia); member of the NSDAP and confidential agent of the Gestapo and the SD (security service)

... and Brown Dress Coats in the Embassies

The Bonn government is also represented in foreign countries by many fascist diplomats:

Blankenhorn, Herbert

Ambassador to Great Britain since 1965

Up to 1943 head of the economics department of the fascist legation in Bern, then section leader in the political department of the Ribbentrop Foreign Office, member of the NSDAP since 1936 (No. 6,977,147)

Gaerte, Dr. Felix

Head of the Bonn general consulate in Melbourne

Member of the NSDAP since March 1937 (No. 4,910,278), October 1937 SS storm troop 1/80, paratroop lieutenant and during the war SS Untersturmführer in the Reich Security Main Office

Herwarth von Bittenfeld, Dr. Hans Heinrich

Ambassador to Italy

Assigned by Hitler and Ribbentrop to the occupied Soviet territories, he participated in the formation of the notorious Vlassov army

Krapf, Dr. Franz

Ambassador to Japan

From 1940 to the end of the war legation secretary and member of the staff of the Reich Railway Publicity Centre (foreign office of the security service) at the embassy in Tokyo, Japan, staff member of department

III of the Reich Security Main Office, member of the NSDAP since 1936, SS Untersturmführer

Luedde-Neurath, Kurt

Ambassador to Indonesia

In Ribbentrop's ministry from 1938, from 1939 at the fascist embassy in Japan, NSDAP since 1938 (No. 4,745,122), SA Sturmführer

Mohr, Dr. Ernst-Günther

Ambassador to Argentina

Before 1945 legation counsellor in The Hague, jointly responsible for the deportation of the Jews (1939 to 1941), subsequently consul in Tangiers (Morocco), member of staff of the fascist espionage service, legation counsellor, 1st class, in the political department of the fascist Foreign Office, liaison man with the Wehrmacht supreme command (OKW), (1944 to 1945), member of the NSDAP since 1 September 1935 (No. 3,500,174)

Nüsslein, Dr. Franz

Consul General in Barcelona

National socialist lawyer before 1945, jointly responsible for the murder of Czechoslovak patriots as senior public prosecutor in Prague, a member of the NSDAP since 1 May 1937 (No. 4,628,997)

Ostermann von Roth, Ernst

Ambassador to Colombia

Employed in the fascist embassy in Lisbon as legation counsellor in the press department, member of the NSDAP since 1937 and of the SS (SS No. 156,496)

Sachs, Dr. Hans-Georg

Ambassador to the EEC and EURATOM

Before 1945 legation secretary in Ribbentrop's Foreign Ministry

Tannstein, Dr. Kurt von

Ambassador to Tunisia

Before 1945 legation secretary in the fascist embassy in the Vatican (1941), member of the NSDAP since 1 May 1933 (No. 2,948,420)

Vogel, Dr. Georg

Ambassador to Venezuela

Staff member of Ribbentrop's Foreign Office from 1934, then legation counsellor in the legal department, NSDAP since 1937, SS Obersturmführer

Specialists on Eastern Research as Advisers

The so-called specialists on eastern research have been involved as advisers and planners of Bonn's foreign policy directed against the socialist states. Taking the example of the Policy Planning Council in the American Department of State, a planning staff was formed in the West German Foreign Ministry in January 1963 and since May 1966 it has been headed by the nazi diplomat, ministerial director Günter Diehl. It is the task of this staff to put science and research in the service of the Bonn foreign policy.

"... The intellectual equipment of the experienced and all-round educated diplomats in the top posts of the foreign service is no longer sufficient to correctly comprehend and assess all the events in this fast-moving modern world...", writes the West German periodical *Aussenpolitik*. The imperialist specialists on eastern research in the planning staff are to help overcome these deficiencies. In this body leading specialists on eastern research such as Professor Klaus Mehnert, Professor Boris Meissner and the president of the "German Society for East European Studies", former Ambassador Wilhelm Haas are all active with a seat and vote. The "Society for East European Studies" was already characterized in the Weimar Republic as the "extended arm of the Foreign Office". (G. Voigt, "Die Deutsche Gesellschaft für Osteuropakunde 1913-1965", *Aussenpolitik*, Stuttgart, 1964, No. 3, p. 5)

It is therefore understandable if the state financing of this so-called eastern research is justified in the 1966 federal budget by a statement about "its high tradition". The "East department" of the Bonn Foreign Office which is headed by nazi diplomats brings in the specialists in eastern research as information officers, advisers and experts. This takes place both through the planning staff of the Foreign Office and through personal contact and mainly through a few coordinating bodies of "Eastern Research" such as the "German Society for East European Studies", the "South-East European Society" in Munich, and the "Working Group for East-West Questions" formed by the Foreign Ministry. All of these institutions are financed by the Foreign Ministry.

A key position for the political and scientific

organizational utilization of the so-called eastern research in accordance with the requirements of the imperialist policy of revenge is in the hands of the specialist in international law, Professor Boris Meissner. Meissner is a nazi "folkdom fighter". During the Second World War he was "special leader of national associations" in occupied Estonia.

On his initiative the Cologne Institute for Sovietology was formed by the Ministry of Internal Affairs in April 1961 as an instrument of anti-communism.

Together with Meissner the professor of political science at the Technical College in Aachen, Klaus Mehnert, is the leading brain of the imperialist specialists in eastern research.

Before and after 1945 Mehnert was for several years general secretary of the "German Society of East European Studies". During the fascist war he was a correspondent for nazi newspapers and a confidant of the department of information of the Reich Foreign Ministry in East Asia.

In his book "USN Secret Missions. The Story of an Intelligence Officer", New York, 1946, Rear Admiral Ellis M. Zacharias, former head of US Naval Intelligence, accuses Mehnert of having participated to a considerable extent in the offensive plan of the Japanese for the attack on Pearl Harbor: "If we refer to the plans which they (the Japanese-editor) worked out we cannot but recognize Mehnert's hand in the basic strategic plan of the Japanese." (Op. cit., p. 194)

Today Mehnert, as a member of the advisory council on questions of development aid in the Federal Ministry of Economic Cooperation, is not only adviser to the state of the monopolies in the blackmail policy towards the young states of Africa, but also in the sabotage of the treaty for the non-proliferation of atomic weapons. In a broadcast on the second program of West German television on 18 February 1967, he demanded that all states without atomic weapons should unite with the aim of blackmailing the atomic powers. In a polemic on the above-mentioned non-proliferation treaty he gives the states without atomic weapons the "right" to "renounce their obligations" in order "to regain their freedom of action".

Atomic Weapons as a Means of Exerting Pressure on the Peoples of Europe

THE FIRST PLANS FOR ATOMIC ARMAMENT

Atomic weapons have been given a central place in the expansionist plans of West German imperialism. The ruling circles in Bonn consider possession of atomic weapons as basic

- for implementing the sole representation pretension;
- for the obtaining of hegemony in Europe;
- for altering the status quo in Europe and revising the existing frontiers.

Attaining possession of atomic weapons was one of the most important motives for West Germany's entry into NATO. It was on this basis that the formation of the Bundeswehr was conceived at the beginning of the fifties.

The West German government has exerted much energy in order to get atomic weapons by direct or indirect means especially since the decision of the West

German Bundestag on 25 March 1958 concerning the arming of Bonn's army. It is for this reason that it offered relevant plans in the past years and supported all those proposals within NATO which would bring it nearer to the possession of atomic weapons.

Along with the armament monopolies who would gain very high profits from collaborating in or themselves producing atomic weapons, the Bonn Hitler generals appeared en masse. In August 1960 the supreme command of the Bundeswehr demanded in a memorandum: "The Bundeswehr must have the same 'nuclear shield' possessed by the Allied defence forces. The 'nuclear shield' of NATO must be a complete force." (*Bulletin des Presse- und Informationsamtes der Bundesregierung*, Bonn, 20 August 1960, No. 155, p. 1527)

And in a secret memorandum of December 1961 the Bonn generals explained:

"Without possession of atomic weapons it is unthinkable

The West German press massively opposes the conclusion of a treaty on the non-proliferation of atomic weapons and thereby supports the campaign of the Bonn politicians.

(Cf. the section "Malicious Attacks against the Atomic Non-proliferation Treaty")

DIE WELT

9. Februar 1967

ATOMSPERRVERTRAG

Bonn muß Bedingungen für Beitritt stellen

National-Zeitung

17. Februar 1967

NUKLEARER KOLONIALISMUS

Teuflischer Plan zur Versklavung der Bundesrepublik
VON DR. GERHARD FREY

STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG

18. Februar 1967

Adenauer schlägt Alarm für Europa

VOLKSBOOTE

Atom-Giganten und Habenichtse

WELT am SONNTAG

19. Februar 1967

Während Adenauer von atomarem „Todesurteil“ spricht . . .

**Strauß an Kiesinger:
Ich beuge mich nicht
unter den Atomvertrag
Droht ein neues Jalta?**

20. Februar 1967

Wenige Tage vor der Wiederaufnahme der Genfer 17-Mächte-Abüstungskonferenz

Sturm auf gegen den Atomsperrvertrag

Politiker aller Schattierungen warnen — Adenauer spricht von „Todesurteil“ — Allerdings sind auch schon heftigste Stimmen vornehmbar: die Bundesrepublik darf nicht als „der letzte Kette Krieger“ dastehen — Briten sprechen unter vier Augen „hart“ mit Strauß

24. Februar 1967

NPD mahnt Bonn:

Nicht unterzeichnen!

echo der zeit

NÜRNBERGER Nachrichten

DN DEUTSCHE NACHRICHTEN

able that Germany can restore its historical and national frontiers." (*Deutsche Woche*, Munich, 1 January 1962)

In the confidential service regulation of the Bundeswehr HdV 100/1 of 25 October 1962 with the title "The principles of military leadership for atomic and non-atomic warfare" it is stated that:

"Through atomic weapons the command can become freer, more independent and mobile and thereby attain greater freedom of action. Crises can arise more easily but they can also be more rapidly controlled, because atomic weapons can change the situation in a split second due to their devastating effect." In accordance with this, combat teams of all branches of the Bundeswehr have been equipped with the means of delivery of atomic weapons in recent years.

In the years 1963 and 1964, Bonn politicians based their atomic weapon plans on the American proposal of creating a multilateral atomic striking force of NATO (MLF). When this project seemed doomed to failure, they embraced a similar British suggestion for an Atlantic atomic striking force (ANF). Finally since 1965 they have begun to utilize mainly the so-called McNamara committee of NATO in order to realize their nuclear plans.

THE FORWARD THRUST OF THE KIESINGER/STRAUSS CABINET

Only one day after Kiesinger's government speech, a body with the misleading name "Committee for Defence Planning" was formed at the NATO Council meeting in December 1966 in Paris under the pressure of Schröder and Brandt, a permanent NATO committee on atomic weapons (Committee for nuclear defence) was set up, and a permanent "Nuclear planning group" was decided upon. West Germany was made a permanent member of the nuclear weapons committee, which would be responsible for "all questions of planning nuclear strategy, the use of nuclear weapons and consultation on these questions". (*Die Welt*, Hamburg, 12 December 1966)

War minister Schröder called this group "a new operational basis" and in connection with it he encouraged a greater influence in the decision to release atomic weapons to the NATO partners, "from whose territories nuclear weapons will be used or in which they will be used for defence purposes".

The *New York Times* states in its publication of 17 and 18 December 1966 in its report on Brandt's behaviour at the NATO conference, "that Bonn was leaving the door open for eventual West German participation in a European nuclear force".

In an interview with the magazine *Wehr und Wirtschaft* 1967, No. 1, the official leader of the social democratic parliamentary group in the Bundestag, Helmut Schmidt, said in answer to the question whether it was true that the American partners desired the

"denuclearization" of the Bundeswehr: "I know nothing of a denuclearization of the Bundeswehr. I consider this idea to be misleading."

Directly after the West German manoeuvre "Panthersprung" in January 1967, war minister Schröder clearly stated at a press conference in Marburg: "The Bundeswehr will retain its atomic carriers." Within the conception of NATO both conventional and nuclear weapon systems are still necessary.

Indeed, on 12 February 1967 Schröder, in an interview with Springer's *Welt am Sonntag*, explained:

"We need a balanced system of mixed weapons, because one weapon alone can neither terrorize effectively nor can it decide alone in the defence."

Different Ways to the Bomb

At present the Kiesinger/Strauss government is attempting to realize its demand for atomic weapons in four main ways:

through the nuclear planning groups formed at the NATO council meeting in December 1966. In detail, their influence covers the knowledge of available atomic weapons, the location of the weapons, the giving of the combat order and the planning of the target.

The West German government regards its membership in the atomic weapons committee as only a temporary solution. War minister Schröder explained briefly and clearly that West Germany's membership "does not mean abandonment of further practical and constructive solutions". At the same time he demands a "special influence on the decision for the decontrol of atomic weapons" and on the "nuclear policy of the alliance" through "cooperation in the working out of directives, plans, programs and methods for the use of atomic weapons, including those strategic weapons which are not distributed to the alliance". (DPA 14 December 1966)

Strauss, too, has shown that he considers the solutions contained in the American proposals to be small steps. In his book "Entwurf für Europa", Stuttgart, 1966, p. 104 f. he writes:

"I am of the opinion that the Federal Republic of Germany should participate in all solutions, which are prepared to give it more information, more consultation, a greater say in the planning and organization of atomic defence mainly in the selection of targets, than was offered by the United States."

The federal government considers the formation of multilateral nuclear systems to be a "practical and constructive solution" of the problem of atomic weapons. Here the emphasis is laid on the formation of a European atomic striking force. Federal Minister Franz-Josef Strauss explained:

"I have never given cause for doubting that I welcome the long term aim of forming a European atomic striking force." (*Der Spiegel*, Hamburg, 1967, No. 1/2, p. 30)

In his book "Entwurf für Europa", Strauss is even more explicit. He writes: "I am convinced . . . that in the long run only one solution *would give the Federal Republic real equality with comparable partners, and that is a European atomic weapon potential.*" (Emphasis by editor), (F. J. Strauss, "Entwurf für Europa", Stuttgart, 1966, p. 101)

Another way is the carrying out of the West German version of the "forward strategy", which is based on a comprehensive arming of all formations in NATO (including the West Germans) with atomic weapons. (Cf. chapter: The Bundeswehr)

Finally, the West German imperialists are preparing to produce their own atomic weapons.

Malicious Attacks against the Atomic Non-proliferation Treaty

As a consequence of the scientific and technical revolution and industrial development, many countries are today capable of producing atomic weapons and their carrier systems. With this, the danger increases that these weapons of mass destruction can one day be used by a group of political adventurers or a government which is irresponsibly run. All the more reason why it is necessary to quickly conclude a treaty which prevents the spread of these weapons through production or distribution. In this way West German imperialist access to the possession of atomic weapons will also be blocked. Such an international agreement would be a decisive step towards ensuring European security and reducing the danger of an atomic war.

The Bonn government, however, sees its atomic weapon plans threatened by such an agreement. They fear the loss of a decisive means for the realization of their expansionist policy. Therefore, West German reactionaries favouring atomic weapons have united, from the Federal Association of West German industry to Kiesinger, Strauss, Schröder, Barzel, Grewe, Brandt and Schmidt and including the Springer press, in order collectively to direct a concentrated and malicious attack against the conclusion of a treaty for the non-proliferation of atomic weapons:

Berg (president of the Federal Association of West German Industry): "... if this treaty is accepted without amendments, then one can calculate when the Federal Republic would be forced back to the level of an agricultural state." (AP, 11 February 1967)

Adenauer: "I hope that the Federal Republic does not sign its own death warrant." The non-proliferation treaty is a "Morgenthau-Plan to the second power". (*Welt am Sonntag*, Hamburg, 19 February 1967)

Strauss: Explained in a letter to Kiesinger, "that he will defend himself with all the means available to him as a politician, against the treaty in its present form". (DPA, 18 February 1967) "My objections to the treaty

in its present form are clear and unequivocal." (*Welt am Sonntag*, Hamburg, 19 February 1967)

Barzel: "The treaty on the non-proliferation of atomic weapons should not prevent the possibility of developing a collective European atomic striking force later." (*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 20 February 1967)

Kiesinger: "... in this affair the Federal Republic is acting quite firmly, and will not agree to any dangerous compromises..." (In a radio speech on 21 February 1967)

Majonica (Chairman of the foreign policy group of the CDU/CSU Bundestag group): "For Europe the reserving of multilateral solutions is of vital importance." (*Die Welt*, Hamburg, 1 January 1967)

Brandt: "A modern industrial state cannot abandon access to the peaceful weapon of the atom which serves the struggle for progress, unless it wants to dig its grave." (UPI, 9 February 1967, Speech to the "Council of Foreign Relations", in New York)

Bayern-Kurier, 4 March 1967 (organ of Franz-Josef Strauss): "We are of the opinion that the planned treaty in its present form and in the spirit of the philosophy upon which it is based, is a danger to the existence of German interests."

Parliamentary group of the CDU/CSU: "Some of the members make no secret of the fact that in their opinion a German signature under a treaty in the form known up to now is unthinkable." (*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, Munich, 15 February 1967)

Under the management of the so-called disarmament representative of the Bonn government, Schnippenkoetter, a "working committee" was formed to conduct the whole campaign of hatred against the treaty for the non-proliferation of atomic weapons, and to organize disturbances on the occasion of the meeting of the 18-State Disarmament Committee in Geneva.

On 20 February 1967, the eve of the re-opening of negotiations by this committee, the Bonn government itself made the provocative statement, that in connection with the non-proliferation treaty it will allow itself to be put "neither under pressure nor be pushed".

The musical accompaniment to the attacks of the politicians is mainly provided by the Springer press:

"No to the non-proliferation treaty" (*Die Morgenpost*), "Bonn must put forward conditions for entry" (*Die Welt*),

"This is how the little ones are to be finished off" (*Bildzeitung*).

All talk of the peaceful intentions of the Bonn government has died in the wind of the first important test to which it was put with the concluding of the treaty on the non-proliferation of atomic weapons.

As the relaxation of tension takes on a concrete form instead of being merely baseless statements, the Bonn government has proved to be "peace-hater" number one.

On this the British newspaper *Sun* writes:

International press opinion confirms that West Germany is capable of producing atomic weapons itself. (Cf. section on the "Conspiracy on the Bomb")

Süddeutsche Zeitung
MÜNCHNER NEUESTE NACHRICHTEN AUS POLITIK, KULTUR, WIRTSCHAFT, SPORT
München, Mittwoch, 22. Juni 1966

Mittwoch, 22. Juni 1966

Bonn kann billige A-Bombe bauen, heißt es in einer US-Studie

Washington (UPI)

Die Bundesrepublik sei in der Lage, in Kürze eine billige Atombombe zu bauen, schreibt der amerikanische Politologe W. B. Bader in einer Analyse der westdeutschen Atomtechnik in der Zeitschrift *Foreign Affairs*. Bader, der Berater des außenpolitischen Senatsausschusses in internationalen Angelegenheiten ist, meint: „Die westdeutschen Fortschritte in der nuklearen Technologie seit 1958 sind beeindruckend. Sie erwecken den Eindruck, daß die Deutschen das Fundament für ein Waffenprogramm legen.“ In der Studie wird jedoch betont, die Möglichkeit eines derartigen Atomwaffenbaues in der Bundesrepublik sei gering.

„Wenn die gegenwärtigen Pläne ausgeführt würden, könnte Westdeutschland in wenigen Jahren nicht nur einer der führenden Wettbewerber auf dem Gebiet der kommerziellen Nukleartechnologie werden, sondern auch eine Bombe in sehr kurzer Zeit bauen können“, heißt es in der Studie.

THE FINANCIAL TIMES
INCORPORATING THE FINANCIAL NEWS
INDUSTRY • COMMERCE • PUBLIC AFFAIRS
FRIDAY, 10 JUNE 14 1966

FRIDAY OCTOBER 14 1960

Just How Valuable is the New German A-Bomb Process ?

By Our Scientific Correspondent

Three main points lie behind the multiplicity of conflicting reports which have appeared during the last few

months: not only the principles involved but also the whole question of possible costs if the U.S., German, Dutch, Russian,

part in that the object of whirling the gas around at high speed is to separate out the heavier and less valuable atoms of

"If West Germany" now sabotages the treaty, it would also be sabotaging the fresh hopes for better relations between East and West". (*Sun*, London, 22 February 1967)

And the *Neue Zuercher Zeitung* of 21 February 1967 states:

"Without doubt the wave of interviews and statements, warnings and alarm signals which hit the public of the Federal Republic at the weekend, has done disservice to the interest of the Germans on this side of the border . . . In this way one gets the impression that it was the interest of the Federal Republic in particular which was endangered by the treaty and not the general interest of the non-nuclear states."

Hypocrisy Concerning Scientific and Technical Progress

At the heart of the various pretexts and conditions which the West German government has made, is alleged "concern about scientific and technical progress".

On the 16 January 1967 Kurt Georg Kiesinger explained in a press conference:

"In this connection there are scientific interests. You are surely aware of the fact that the development of nuclear weapons creates a large quantity of by-products for the economic development of a country."

Statements of Bonn Ministers Stoltenberg, Brandt and others show the same tendency. Berg, the head of the industrialists' association, the BDI, went so far as to claim that the treaty means "the exclusion of the Federal Republic of Germany from all future research of importance". (*AP*, 11 February 1967)

Behind this "concern for scientific and technical progress" lies in reality the anxiety that the treaty on the non-proliferation of atomic weapons would create even greater barriers against its aspirations of getting atomic weapons. Bonn's NATO Ambassador Grewe said quite clearly in a talk to the West German Foreign Policy Society in Bonn on 24 January 1967:

"A nation without its own atomic weapon production (emphasis by the editor) will not be able to keep up in its scientific and technical development with those who are able to produce and develop atomic weapons themselves." (*Die Zeit*, Hamburg, 10 February 1967)

The hypocritical actions of the Bonn government have also been exposed in the international press.

The Sunday Times, London, 4 February 1967:

"The representatives of the hard line in the German coalition—Minister of Finance Strauss and Defence Minister Schröder—are of the opinion that the treaty in its present form discriminates against those powers which could obtain nuclear weapons if they so desired."

Paris Jour, 22 February 1967:

"In Paris it is known that this campaign has been used as a front for other intentions. In addition to the arguments about the use of atomic weapons for peaceful and

industrial purposes, there are less open observations which are aimed at keeping the way open for Germany to one day obtain atomic weapons. Strauss does not conceal this in any way. Without France having given him cause he is aiming at a possible 'European atomic force' with German participation, to which France would hand over its atomic weapons arsenal."

The Times, London, 21 February 1967:

"If the West German government should give in to the pressure from the right wing and decide to sabotage the treaty, it will be undertaking a very dangerous and heavy responsibility. Beyond this it will destroy its own interests. If there is anything which would push reunification into the even more distant future and which would further delay the relaxation of tension in Europe, then it is the desire of West Germany to possess atomic weapons."

Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 18 and 19 February 1967:

"The treaty on the non-proliferation of atomic weapons contains nothing that would prevent the peaceful use of atomic energy, either in the scientific or industrial field. The states which do not possess atomic weapons are therefore not at a disadvantage to the possessors of atomic weapons."

Figaro, Paris, 21 February 1967, wrote on the pretended concern of the Bonn politicians in connection with the peaceful use of atomic weapons:

"The question necessarily arises as to whether this position is not dictated by other considerations. Strauss, one of the bitterest opponents of the non-proliferation treaty, always was and still is the advocate of a combined European, French-English-German atomic force."

The Strauss organ *Bayern-Kurier* confirmed all these fears on 4 March 1967: "The Federal Republic . . . must either possess atomic weapons itself somehow or other, or enter into a military-political community which possesses atomic weapons."

"Equality" à la Hitler

Among the Bonn arguments are such phrases as the supposed damaging of equality by the non-proliferation treaty and the "violation of the small by the large". Just as Hitler pretended to be a fighter for "equality", so in the same way the opponents of the non-proliferation treaty are today fanning the fires of nationalism with the same arguments.

Hitler said, on 24 October 1933 in justification of Germany's withdrawal from the League of Nations: "For my part, I would at any time rather die than sign something which, according to my most sacred convictions, would be unbearable for the German people." Adenauer is in very close spiritual agreement with him with his "hope that the Federal Republic does not sign its own death warrant".

In the same speech, Hitler had boastfully said, "We will no longer allow ourselves to be treated like a second class nation!"

The "honorary chairman" of the CDU, former Chancellor Adenauer, agitated in 1965 against the Geneva disarmament conference in the same language. "Realization of their plans would create first and second class nations. Atomic weapons give their possessors more weight in politics."

Hitler, speaking before the Reichstag on 20 May 1933 said that demand for equality is based on morality, law and reason. Under no circumstance would Germany "be forced to give a signature which would mean eternal disqualification".

Today the president of the Bundestag, Gerstenmaier, argues against the non-proliferation of atomic weapons:

"As long as we are in a military alliance with other partners, then we must demand and hold out for definite moral and political equality!" In February 1966 writing in the military publication *Kyffhäuser*, he opposed the "withholding of our equality in the western alliance". And Springer's *Welt* wrote on 18 February 1967 that the treaty on the non-proliferation of atomic weapons "instead of creating equal, legal rights for all, was threatening to standardize inequality".

With regard to atomic weapons, "equality" is aimed at helping Bonn to realize the great power plans of West German imperialism. Bonn's NATO Ambassador, Grewe, left no doubts about that:

"Nations without their own atomic weapons will hardly be able to play the role of a great power in the future."

(Emphasis by the editor) (*Die Zeit*, Hamburg, 10 February 1967)

As in the case of Hitler, they are using chauvinistic philosophy. In 1935, German imperialism disguised its aggressive intentions with the pretended desire for security. On 14 October 1935 Hitler said in a radio broadcast: "The security of Germany is not a lesser right than the safety of other nations."

In the Bonn government statement of 20 February 1967 against the treaty on the non-proliferation of atomic weapons, its own claim to atomic weapons is declared to be "in the vital interest of the non-nuclear powers in the field of security".

Just as Hitler considered the arming of Germany to be a prerequisite for eliminating unemployment, Barzel is attempting to use the social insecurity in West Germany against the non-proliferation treaty. On 16 February 1967 he stated in an interview with West German television, that full employment cannot be ensured if the treaty is signed. During his stay in Madrid, Adenauer attempted to blame the treaty for future mass unemployment. (*Welt am Sonntag*, Hamburg, 19 February 1967)

Blackmail of the NATO Partners

In their stormy attacks against the treaty on the non-proliferation of atomic weapons, the ruling class in Bonn is also blackmailing its NATO partners.

In an article by "an (anonymous) authority on the matter" which was apparently encouraged from high places and which appeared in Springer's *Welt* of 11 February 1967, it was stated that the treaty on the non-proliferation of atomic weapons ran counter to Article 8 of the North Atlantic Treaty according to which the partners in the alliance are not to enter into any agreements which run counter to the NATO pact, and to Article 3 according to which the partners are bound to do everything possible to strengthen joint defence.

The article closes with the request:

"The federal government, regardless of what the prior agreement of the coalition parties might be, must undoubtedly make it quite clear to Washington that the treaty on the non-proliferation of atomic weapons and the North Atlantic pact are irreconcilable."

The British government was also put under pressure. The Springer paper *Die Morgenpost* wrote on 11 February 1967: "During his visit to Bonn next week, Wilson should be left with no doubt that he cannot expect support for his entry into the European Common Market if the British government continues to be the advocate of "non-proliferation", which for West Germany means only a throttling of its future industrial development."

Once again "Withdrawn from public view"

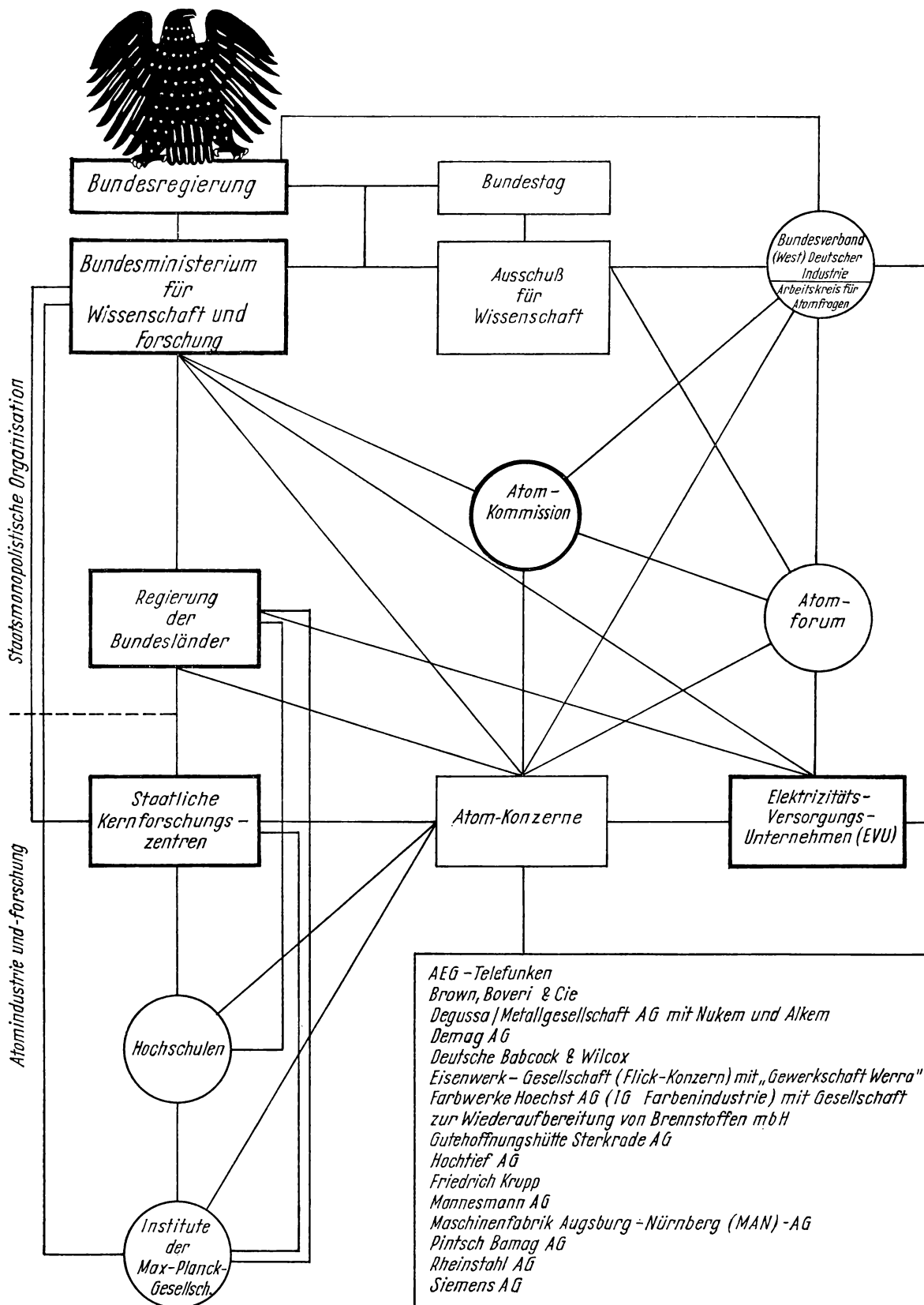
West Germany's hypocritical behaviour is also emphasized by its attitude to the control of atomic reactors by the International Atomic Energy Commission (IAEC), which is included in the provisional plans of the treaty on the non-proliferation of atomic weapons. Apparently the Bonn government fears that control by the IAEC would discover more about the use of atomic energy in West Germany—that it is not only research for peaceful purposes which is being carried out. The "concern about peaceful atomic research" and the noise about so-called industrial espionage are intended to conceal the fact that German imperialism is already actively developing rocket and atomic weapon production in West Germany.

History teaches that the plunder-hungry German monopolists were skilled masters of concealment. This can be surmised from a speech which Gustav Krupp von Bohlen und Halbach intended to make in January 1944 at the University of Berlin. Looking back on the years 1919 to 1933 he summarized:

"It is a singular honour for the whole German armament industry that it did not become inactive in those dark years but that its effectiveness was *hidden from the public view* for quite explainable reasons. In many years of silent work the scientific and technical prere-

The diagram shows the state monopoly system of the arms-oriented atomic economy of West Germany, and especially depicts the direct connection between the West German Government, which has created a special ministry for this

—the Ministry of Science and Research—and research institutes, and trusts which are working on the production of atomic weapons. (Cf. section on "The New Orientation: Atomic and Rocket Cartels")



quisites were created in order to be able to serve the Reich's army *at the given hour* without loss of time and experience . . .

"Only through this *clandestine activity of German industry* and on the basis of the experience gained from production during the period of peace, could the new task of military re-equipment be directly achieved after 1933 and *all the new* and various problems be mastered (emphasis by the editor)." (*"Das Urteil von Nürnberg"*, Munich, 1946, p. 23 f.)

THE NEW ORIENTATION: ATOMIC AND ROCKET CARTELS

Conspiracy on the Bomb

There is more than enough evidence that the West German armament concerns are concentrating on the production of their own nuclear weapon system.

Among other things they are striving to overcome the contradiction between their desire for atomic weapons and the interest of the USA in a treaty on the non-proliferation of atomic bombs, by a "flight to the front".

One thing is clear:

In West Germany all technical and industrial prerequisites for starting production of nuclear weapons will be ready in the foreseeable future!

What developments have taken place in the West German atomic economy which make such a warning extraordinarily topical?

The West German atomic economy is centrally guided by the Bonn Federal Ministry of Scientific Research. The post of minister was given to Dr. Gerhard Stoltenberg, a tested confidant of the traditional Krupp war criminal trust. This ministry has been considerably extended in recent years both in function and personnel.

In the last decade the West German state spent thousands of millions in a striking manner, that is, more than 50 per cent of all its expenditures were concentrated on atomic research and construction and speedy extension of its nuclear research plants (Cf. *"Atomwirtschaft/Atomtechnik"*, Düsseldorf, 1965, No. 6, p. 251)

Thus the Bonn state possessed itself of the most efficient nuclear research plants giving the orders itself and dictating conditions with the aim of guaranteeing utmost secrecy.

All atomic installations which can easily be used militarily have been monopolized by the Bonn state.

The scientific potential of West German atomic research has been extended with particular speed whereas other branches of science which are less important for armament have lost ground as compared with the international level.

The West German atomic commission, as the decisive state monopolist organ in the West German atomic economy, was systematically interspersed with unscrupulous

"war economy leaders" and "miracle weapon" researchers of Hitler Germany.

The Bonn state and the West German atomic monopolies make all efforts "to get all phases of the construction of nuclear power stations into their own hands as far as possible, beginning with the processing of uranium ore in Ellweiler and the manifold equipment for nuclear power stations *to the chemical extraction of plutonium from irradiated uranium combustible rods*". (Professor K. Fuchs, "Bonn's Plans for the Production of Atomic Bombs", *Neues Deutschland*, Berlin, 14 September 1965)

The West German reactor building program is chiefly concentrated on those types which serve the production of plutonium, the most usual explosive for nuclear weapons. In the atomic piles of the Federal Republic various procedures are simultaneously worked on to create the starting basis for nuclear weapons.

It is certainly not by chance that in theoretical work the problems of plutonium research also hold a central position along with those of nuclear fusion.

Special value is placed on the development of atomic drives for ships and also for missiles due to efforts from the military side.

Influential West German trusts have erected special departments or established development groups in the atomic field. These include the IG Farben group, the Siemens trust, the AEG monopoly, the Krupp trust, DEGUSSA Brown, Boverie and Cie., the Haniel and the Demag trusts.

It is therefore not astonishing that—according to information from the American news agency AP of 28 February 1967—these trusts combined in the so-called Atomic Forum Inc. stepped up directly before the public with the protest against the Atomic Non-Proliferation Treaty. In the comment handed over by the president of the "atomic forum", IG-Farben director Karl Winnacker, the West German atomic monopolies categorically demand a free hand for the purchase of fissionable material as well as for the construction of the "quick breeding reactors" which are important for the production of atomic weapons and the unhindered exchange of information with nuclear weapon states.

Powerful armament monopolies and war profiteers in the USA have associated themselves with the West German atomic trusts to jointly make up for the loss of speed of West German imperialism in the construction of nuclear weapons. These are chiefly the General Electric Company, New York; the Westinghouse Company, Pittsburgh; the North American Aviation Inc., El Segundo and the Dow Chemical Company, Midland.

The atomic industry, as one of the fields of up-to-date technology, is not developed independently of military aspects in West Germany but is subordinated to the general political-military aims of German imperialism. The "peaceful use" of atomic power and the contribution to technical progress to be made by it is shifted to the foreground by the West German monopoly press

so vehemently only to deceive West German and world public on the danger of atomic war proceeding from the Federal Republic.

But sometimes contributions can be found even in West German publications made by ministers of the Adenauer, Erhard and Kiesinger/Strauss governments who know about atomic questions, and these reveal a little of what is done in the dark in the Bonn state.

Thus, for example, Professor Siegfried Balke, who was CSU federal minister five years ago, said:

"A look at the dry facts shows that averting danger through disarmament is only one theoretical possibility of policy and *extension of the possession of atomic weapons* to states outside the present atomic countries *cannot be prevented*. The conventional attempts to prevent the diffusion of natural scientific and technical knowledge through concealment and through restrictive measures has only a delaying effect at the most. *Although the production of atomic weapons is connected with scientific, technical, financial, political and other prerequisites which are not easily created, it would be self-deception to suppose that the will to possess atomic weapons would not lead to ways of attaining them, to . . .* (Emphasis by the editor). Those nations which in history came off second-best or were too late can find a welcome chance in this to replace the former masters of the world." (S. Balke, "Vernunft in dieser Zeit—Der Einfluss von Wirtschaft, Wissenschaft und Technik auf unser Leben", Düsseldorf/Vienna, 1962, p. 183)

One may examine the facts and find that the state monopolist ruling system has created all the named "prerequisites" for "the extension of the possession of atomic weapons"!

Perhaps for this very reason the Bonn minister, Dr. Gerhard Stoltenberg, reported to the Bundestag in late autumn of 1966:

"The situation of nuclear research and nuclear technology in the Federal Republic entitles us to be somewhat optimistic!" (German Bundestag—Shorthand Reports, 64th session on 12 October 1966, Bonn, p. 3095)

The international discussion on the popular Atomic Non-Proliferation Treaty forced the experts of Bonn nuclear weapon armaments to further concessions which can be interpreted more easily. The responsible federal minister of the Kiesinger/Strauss cabinet, Dr. Stoltenberg, recently declared himself in principle against any effective control of the uranium ore deliveries and technical procedures by announcing:

"Certain fundamental developments and basic materials, as, for example, the fuels, are the same or at least related for civil as well as military use. And it must be ascertained and made clear that the term 'atomic weapons' must not be extended as far as to the original materials so that disadvantages would arise in the civil sphere . . . (Emphasis by the editor). We must therefore see to it that the regulations are set up so that the non-atomic powers are not handicapped by the atomic powers in civil economic competition through a one-

sided control system which would perhaps cover technical details and thus contain the danger of cancelling the secrecy of civil developments." (From an interview in the second program of the West German television on 7 February 1967)

Indeed, everything is done in Bonn to screen its future atomic bomb projects from the public!

It is rather revealing once in a while to have a good look at the development process of the direct military atomic cooperation between West Germany and the USA. In July 1959 the Adenauer government concluded with the USA an agreement on "cooperation in the use of atomic power for the purpose of joint defence" whose text has been kept secret from the peoples up to the present day.

It was the government of the GDR which fulfilled its national obligation and immediately protested in August 1959 against the conclusion of this atomic agreement in memorandums to the North American and West German governments. ("Dokumente zur Aussenpolitik der Regierung der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik", Vol. VII, Berlin, 1960, p. 113)

Five years afterwards, through the intensive urging of the Bundeswehr generals came the "NATO Agreement on Cooperation in the Field of Atomic Information". In this way West Germany came into possession of atomic weapon secrets which it had striven for and which had been up to then barred by the USA. (Cf. *Bulletin des Presse- und Informationsamtes der Bundesregierung*, Bonn, 2 July 1964, p. 978)

In this situation the Soviet news agency TASS was authorized to cable the following warning declaration into the world:

"In the present state of development of science and production it would not be very difficult for the German Federal Republic to build atomic weapons of its own. The West German militarists would not even have to carry through atomic weapon tests of their own—the atomic weapons have already been made ready for operation on American testing area." (*Neues Deutschland*, Berlin, 15 November 1964)

In 1965 the world-famous physicist Professor Klaus Fuchs again warned from the territory of the GDR:

"The nearer the work comes, to the atomic bomb in West Germany, the more difficult the camouflage of 'peaceful use' becomes. Therefore, our curiosity was aroused by the fact that work on the development of a gas centrifuge for isotope separation in Jülich was suddenly subjected to concealment . . . Professor Steenbeck has directed my attention to the fact that this method, whose development was originally designed for the separation of uranium isotopes, is suited especially well for the separation of plutonium isotopes in that composition in which they are developed in reactor plutonium. Thus, with this method the cheaper reactor plutonium can be worked to bomb plutonium with a smaller expenditure which can scarcely be detected. When the separating plant in Karlsruhe produces reactor pluto-

nium, it could process not only the fuel bars of the Karlsruhe reactor but also those of the first larger West German nuclear power station which is nearing completion near Obrigheim. Out of this reactor plutonium enough bomb plutonium for about 25 atomic bombs a year could be produced through isotope separation...

"The potential capacity of the nuclear power station under construction in West Germany at present is... to be estimated at some 70 atomic bombs per year." (*Neues Deutschland*, Berlin, 14 September 1965)

There are many instructive and alarming accusations against the beginnings of the production of nuclear weapons in the Federal Republic. Scientists from Moscow, London and even Washington are at one in the assessment of the real situation of West German atomic armament.

The scientific associate of the London *Financial Times* on 14 October 1960 examined the West German atomic bomb production perspective under the heading, "How Valuable is the (West) German Procedure for the Manufacture of the Atomic Bomb, after all?" The newspaper disclosed that the stock rates of the West German DEGUSSA atomic trust increased by 275 per cent since it works "at a 'cheap' procedure for the production of uranium 235".

Soviet Professor Vassili Yemelyanov raised his voice loudly:

"It must not be ignored that today the Federal Republic possesses everything necessary to begin the production of atomic bombs. It must be stressed that it is not a question of the construction of one single bomb but the regular industrial production of such bombs. According to the West German periodical *Atomwirtschaft*, 500 kilograms of plutonium from the United States are already stored in the Federal Republic. Officially they are provided for the construction of quick reactors, and perhaps this is even correct. But it must not be ignored that a few dozens of atomic bombs could be produced with this quantity of plutonium... At present there are more than 330 firms in West Germany, among them 80 of a considerable size, which in one way or another have a share in the production of equipment for the atomic industry or atomic research, among them such distinguished enterprises as Thyssen, DEGUSSA, DEMAG, Siemens, AEG and MAN. These are the successors of those who brought Hitler to power and equipped his army." (*Neue Zeit*, Moscow, 1965, No. 4, p. 4)

Even one of the spiritual fathers of the first American atomic bomb and president of the Atomic Energy Commission, Nobel Prize holder Professor Glenn T. Seaborg, could not but admit on grounds of reports of the American secret service which were submitted to him, that "West Germany"... will have the potential in a short time to build atomic bombs "through its scientists and with basic materials procured in one way or another". It was 1965 when this best-informed atomic expert in the imperialist camp came to this judgement. (Cf. *US News and World Report*, Washington, 19 July 1965)

Afterwards, confirmation of the correctness of his forecast was announced by United Press International on 22 June 1966 from the seat of the US government:

"The Federal Republic is in a position to *shortly build a cheap atomic bomb*", the American political scientist W. B. Bader wrote in an analysis of the West German atomic technology in the periodical *Foreign Affairs*!

"Bader, who is adviser to the Senate Foreign Policy Committee for International Affairs, says: 'The West German progress in nuclear technology since 1958 is impressive. It gives the impression that the (West) Germans are laying the foundation for an arms program... When the present plans are realized, West Germany could not only in a few years become one of the *leading* competitors in the field of commercial nuclear technology but even be able to build *a bomb in a very short time*.'" (*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, Munich, 22 June 1966)

The French newspaper *Combat* on 17 February 1967 warned of Bonn's ambitions to become an atomic power and produce nuclear weapons of its own. It names the achievements of West Germany in atomic research as the reason for the West German opposition to an atomic weapons non-proliferation treaty. *Combat* refers to the fact that Bonn intensifies its atomic research under strict concealment. It is stated that there is proof that the West Germans "have mastered the scientific problems set by atomic armament. It is recalled that the US allowed West Germany, in violation of the Paris Treaties, to use uranium enriched up to 90 per cent".

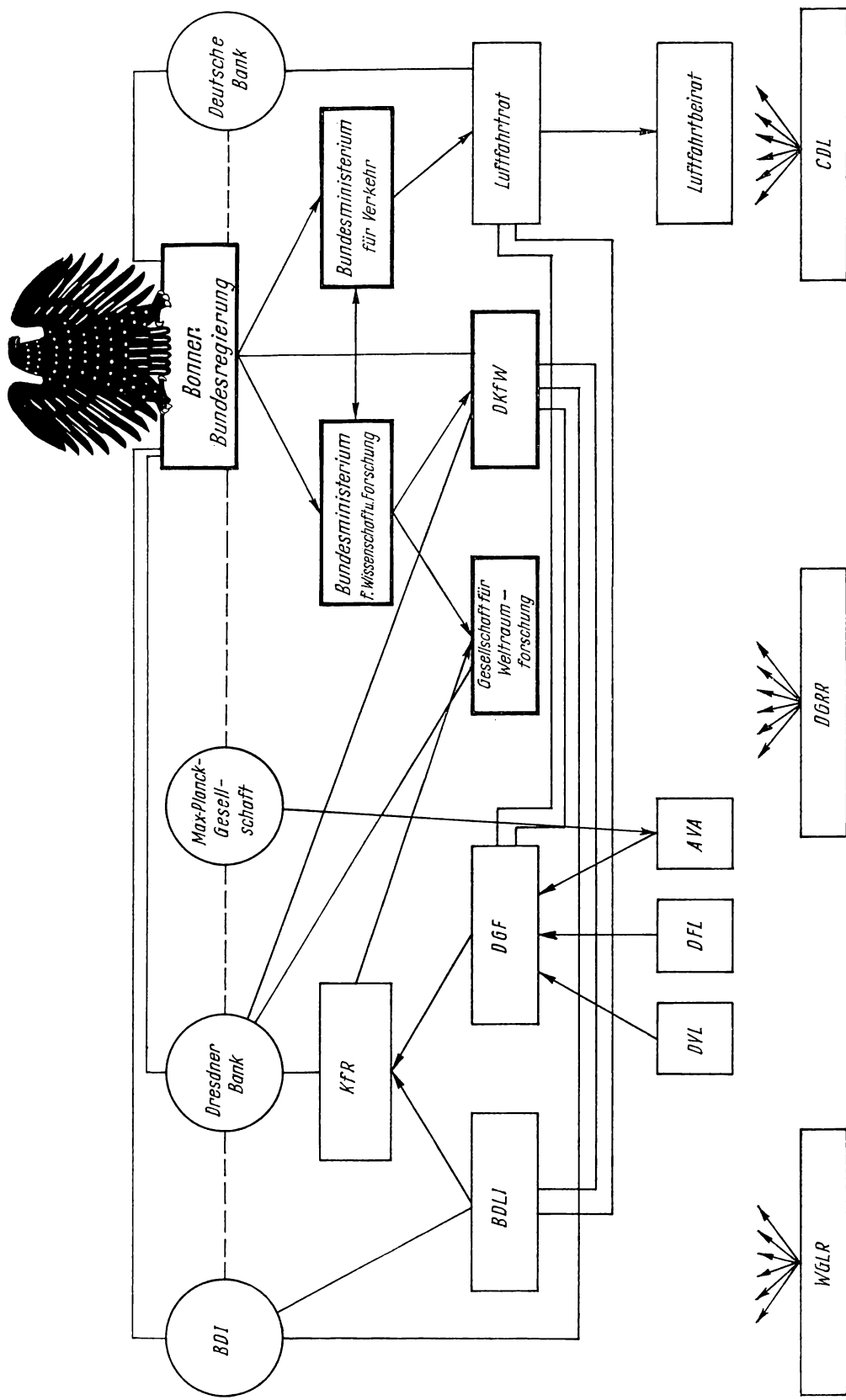
All these timely warnings point to the probability bordering on certainty that the Bonn extremist politicians and Bundeswehr generals will have created the technical prerequisites for their own production of nuclear weapons next year or the year after.

Production Centres for Atomic Weapons

It is again necessary to refer quite clearly to the Bonn atomic weapon production centres in this serious situation. In doing so it must be emphasized that the West German concealment prescriptions for these centres have become more rigorous from month to month to such a degree that today even expert scientists and military representatives of the West German NATO partners are not permitted to see plans, plants, departments and research results in this field.

Bonn atomic research of military importance concentrates essentially on five places:

1. in the Karlsruhe nuclear research centre,
2. in the Jülich nuclear research plant,
3. in the Institute for Plasma Physics in Garching near Munich,
4. in the Society for Radiation Research mbH in Munich-Neuherberg,
5. in the Society for Nuclear Energy Utilization in Ship building and Shipping mbH in Hamburg-Geesthacht.



The diagram shows the state monopoly system of the arms-oriented aircraft, missile and satellite industry in West Germany, and especially shows the close connection between the West German government, industry and the various research and experiment centres for air and space travel. Abbreviations: AVA = Aerodynamic Experimental Station, BDI = Federal Association of German Industry, BDLI = Federal Association of German Air and Space

Travel Industry, CDL = Air Travel Club, DFL = German Research Centre for Air and Space Travel, DGF = German Society for Aeronautics, DGRR = German Society for Rocket Technology and Space Travel, DKfW = German Commission for Space Research, DVL = German Experimental Centre for Air and Space Travel, KfR = Commission for Space Travel Technology, WGLR = Scientific Society for Air and Space Travel.

As was disclosed, the material and scientific-technical conditions for the production of plutonium that can be used militarily will be given in the Karlsruhe nuclear research centre in 1968 at the latest.

In addition, the "quick breeder" project is worked at high pressure in the Euratom nuclear research centre in Karlsruhe which is of military importance because the production of plutonium can be increased considerably with such "quick breeders". The extent and haste with which all previous Bonn governments made the very "quick breeders" the focal point of their atomic economy are conspicuous. Thus 250 million marks are invested until the end of 1967 and another 200 million marks by 1972 in this militarily useful project. (Cf. "Atomwirtschaft/Atomtechnik", Düsseldorf, 1966, No. 3, p. 99, and 1966, No. 6, p. 300)

In addition to this comes the construction of two 300 megawatt prototype reactors for which another 1,300 million marks are provided.

But recently a West German newspaper remarked on the problems of the "quick breeders":

"There is a pernicious point where peaceful and military use of atomic energy intersect, namely the special reactors which are called quick breeders. Roughly, it is the following: Three fissionable materials are indispensable for the production of an atomic bomb and also for the priming of an H-bomb; uranium 235, plutonium 239 and uranium 233. Uranium 235 must be separated from the common uranium in a very complicated and expensive diffusion procedure. Rather large quantities of uranium and a plant are needed because the isotope content is only 0.712 per cent ... plutonium 239 and uranium 233 are produced through nuclear transmutation; for this purpose special reactors are needed which are called quick breeders. In this process, U 238 which is contained in the natural uranium is transformed into Pu 239; U 233 is also set free in the breeder in a reaction in which thorium 232 takes part. It changes into thorium 233 through neutron bombardment and can be transformed into U 233.

"All this is considerably simplified and only one thing matters, much depends on the quick breeders." (*Frankfurter Rundschau*, 7 February 1967)

In the Jülich nuclear research plant the following factors point to a planned and eagerly prepared isotope separation of uranium and also of plutonium to receive both nuclear fission materials in an isotope composition which can be used for military purposes:

the stock capital of the "Society for Nuclear Processing Technology mbH" is exclusively owned by the West German Federal government;

all material investments and maintenance costs are financed by the West German federal government;

the commercial corporation form chosen was that of limited liability which does not require public accountability even with "cooked up" data;

the production of the nuclear fission material uranium 233 which represents the starting material for the production of nuclear weapons is already in operation in the Jülich nuclear research plant;

in the Society for Nuclear Processing Technology mbH, which is located on the area of the Jülich nuclear research plant for reasons of concealment, "the development of an isotope separation procedure by means of gas ultra centrifuges has been fully started". (1965, "Activity Report of the Federal Government", *Deutsche Politik*, Bonn, p. 313)

This procedure is especially and excellently suited for the rational isotope separation also of plutonium and thus highly remarkable militarily!

The above-mentioned "Institute for Plasma Physics" located in Bavaria already researches in fields which play an important role in the production of hydrogen bombs (thermonuclear fusion).

The Hamburg "Society for the Use of Nuclear Energy in Shipbuilding and Shipping mbH" makes, for example, expedient research in the field of atomic drives for war ships, and the Munich "Society for Radiation Research mbH" has its safes filled with expert data on the "effects of radioactive radiation on living beings" within the framework of the West German atomic war preparations.

The possibility of secret West German production of nuclear weapons has been principally admitted even by the "Committee for Defence Questions and Armament of the West European Union". This committee had been forced to deal with a relevant treatise of the Dutch parliamentarian Duynstee, on the "state of European security". The above-named committee of the WEU, however, has not taken any measures up to the present day for the reliable control or stopping of military nuclear research and development of nuclear weapons by the Bonn state.

Secret Agreements with Fascist Dictators

Up to now the West German Federal Republic obtained atomic fuels mainly from the NATO states USA, Great Britain and Canada. In this connection, the strategic background became obvious when the following could be read in the Bonn "Parliamentary Political Press Service" (PPP) on 10 February 1967:

"The Federal Republic still needs until 1980 a total of about 40,000 to 50,000 tons of metallic uranium for its reactors. Since the uranium deposits in the Federal Republic only amount to some 10,000 tons, a (West) German syndicate intends to secure uranium ore abroad with federal support. The syndicate, which is composed of the Metallgesellschaft, Hibernia, Klöckner & Co. and the Steinkohlen-Elektrizitäts AG (STEAG), pays one-quarter and the Federal Republic, three-quarters of the

prospecting and mining costs. The first object is a prospecting project in Canada (Eastern Labrador) where some 3,000 tons of uranium are expected to be found. The Canadian enterprise will require investments of about 3,700 million marks up to 1972. The extracted uranium ore is to be processed in Canada by a mixed (West) German-Canadian company . . ."

But as a rule the USA, Great Britain and Canada insisted on certain conditions and relatively effective processing control possibilities. To this came the visa force of Euratom.

For some time it has become evident that West Germany not only strengthens its autarchy efforts

- in the construction of atomic reactors and
 - in the reprocessing of nuclear fuels,
- but also especially
- in the uncontrolled import and the supply of the atomic industry with nuclear fuels and
 - through its own production or further processing of such nuclear fuels.

Thus uranium ore is produced or prospected for on the territory of the West German state—which is also greatly promoted by the new Federal government—

- in Weissenstadt in the Fichtel Mountains and
- in the Ellweiler area in Rhineland/Palatinate.

Naturally the West German uranium deposits are by far insufficient for the expansive military utilization by the atomic industry. Now it is noticed that the Bonn governments obviously placed and continue to place special value on finding new uranium suppliers which

- are located outside the NATO states and
- are exclusively governed by fascist dictators, to conclude secret contracts with these uranium exporters and involve them completely in the West German atomic bomb conspiracy.

This is the only way of assessing Bonn's atomic relations with Spain and the Republic of South Africa which have been initiated behind the back of the European and African peoples.

Spain is today the most important European supplier of raw materials for the potential West German production of nuclear weapons. For years there has been close collaboration for mutual benefit between the West German atomic trusts and the fascist Spanish atomic energy commission (Cf. "Deutsche Aussenpolitik", Berlin, 1962, No. 11, p. 1301)

The Bonn-Pretoria atomic cooperation operates through the Atomic Energy Board in South Africa. The activity of this Atomic Energy Board and that of all South African uranium works is subject to severe secrecy clauses:

The theorist of the Atomic Energy Board and its direct liaison man with the West German monopolist Hermann Josef Abs, is the German atomic physicist, Professor Heinz Verleger, who has been professor at

Pretoria University since 1955. During the Nazi period, Professor Verleger was government counsellor from 1936 to 1941 at the Physical Technical Reichsanstalt in Berlin and until 1945 professor at Tübingen University. (Cf. *Wer ist wer?*, West Berlin, 1963, p. 1621)

Trusted individuals of West German finance capital also occupy other key posts of the Atomic Energy Board, such as the deputy chairman of the Board, Dr. Theo Schumann, South West African and son of a German missionary, who is also a specialist for cosmic missiles; and Dr. A. J. A. Roux, director of the Atomic Energy Research Development Program of South Africa, who maintains the relations with the West German DEGUSSA trust, an atomic West German trust controlled by Hermann Josef Abs.

DEGUSSA, after lengthy negotiations, has reached agreement with the Atomic Energy Board on the delivery of 100 tons of uranic oxide (U_3O_8) in the course of ten years.

Ministerial Director and graduate engineer Karl Kaissling, one-time head of department III—nuclear research—in the Bonn atomic ministry, then negotiated on these questions on the order of the West German atomic commission. He made available to the South African racist regime, which is proscribed by the peoples of the world, the uranium specialist, Hans Paul, and the licence for the procedure developed in the test plant in Ellweiler for the processing of uranic ores. This Hans Paul is director of the Gewerkschaft Brunhilde mining enterprise which prospects for uranium in various areas with the financial support of the Bonn federal government.

At present South Africa produces some 20 per cent of the uranium of the capitalist world and furthermore has at its disposal one of the largest known deposits of uranic ores. (Cf. "Memorandum on the military and atomic cooperation of the West German Federal Republic and the Republic of South Africa", Berlin 1964, the publicity papers "An Expanding Economy", of September 1962, and South Africa in Fact, of June 1964, edited by the South African embassy in London).

The result of the Bonn-Pretoria atomic conspiracy culminates in the negotiations on the West German mass import of uranic ores from South Africa which was disclosed already at the beginning of 1967. In this connection Agence France Press reported on 3 February 1967:

"At present the Federal Republic negotiates on the purchase of 1,000 tons of South African uranic ore which would have to be supplied in the next three months." This delivery "of a total value of eight million pounds sterling", of which a part would be stored "out of strategic considerations", is said to have been announced by the *South African Financial Gazette*.

Diplomatic African circles in Bonn consider this alarming news to be the result of the settlements of South African economy minister Dr. Diederichs, who

was one of the first foreign ministers of state to visit the Kiesinger/Strauss government in the middle of January 1967. Diederichs, one of the oldest and most reliable liaison men of German monopoly capital and the German fascists in South Africa and minister of economy since 1958, is one of the most active men of the Bonn-Pretoria atomic plot. Until 1964, he also headed the South African state authority which has a monopoly on the uranium found there. In autumn of 1963 Abs, of the Deutsche Bank AG, had talks with Dr. Diederichs and other ministers in Pretoria on measures necessary for joint large-scale production of nuclear material for atomic bombs.

The Powerful Men in the Atomic Pool

The West German Atomic Commission, and in a certain sense also the "atomic forum", function as state monopolist guiding organs in the atomic economy between Munich and Hamburg. In these organizations, too, seriously incriminated Hitler-men can be found who continue not only their dangerous business policy but especially their personnel policy with the old aims and in the old spirit. In the centre of the West German atomic commission, Hitler's war-economy leader, Hermann Josef Abs, is met again.

At his side stand:

Boden, Dr. Hans Constantin

today: Chairman of the board of directors of the AEG trust and member of the West German atomic commission, decorated with the "Distinguished Service Cross with star and shoulder ribbon" of the Federal Republic of Germany.

before 1945: War economy leader of Hitler Germany

Knott, Dr. Carl

today: Member of the West German atomic commission, member of the working group for atomic questions in the Federal Association of German Industry, decorated with the "Distinguished Service Cross with star"

before 1945: War economy leader of Hitler Germany and member of the executive board of the Siemens Schuckert armament trust

Prentzel, Dr. Felix Alexander

today: Member of the working group for atomic questions in the "Federal Association of German Industry", vice-president of the West German Association

of the Chemical Industry, member of the West German atomic forum.

before 1945: Leading associate of the subversive department "Bureau NW 7" of the war-criminal monopoly IG-Farbenindustrie AG

Reusch, Dr. Hermann

today: Member of the West German atomic commission, decorated with the Bonn "Distinguished Service Cross"

before 1945: War economy leader of Hitler Germany

Winnacker, Professor Dr.-Ing. Karl

today: Deputy chairman and member of the West German atomic commission, president of the West German atomic forum, president of the West German Association of the Chemical Industry, decorated with the Bonn "Distinguished Service Cross with star and shoulder ribbon"

before 1945: Director in the war-criminal monopoly IG-Farbenindustrie AG

It only remains to be said in conclusion that the same DEGUSSA trust which played a decisive role in Hitler's atomic bomb research in the last years of the Second World War again plays an infamous role in the club of the atomic bomb madmen.

Illegal Missile Production for Military Purposes

The logical consequence of Bonn's atomic weapon plans is its hasty production of carriers for nuclear weapons.

On 3 October 1954, the then West German Federal Chancellor Konrad Adenauer, pledged himself before the members of the West European Union in London not to allow production of any atomic, biological and chemical weapons, nor any far-reaching missiles, guided missiles, war ships and bombers for strategic purposes on West German territory.

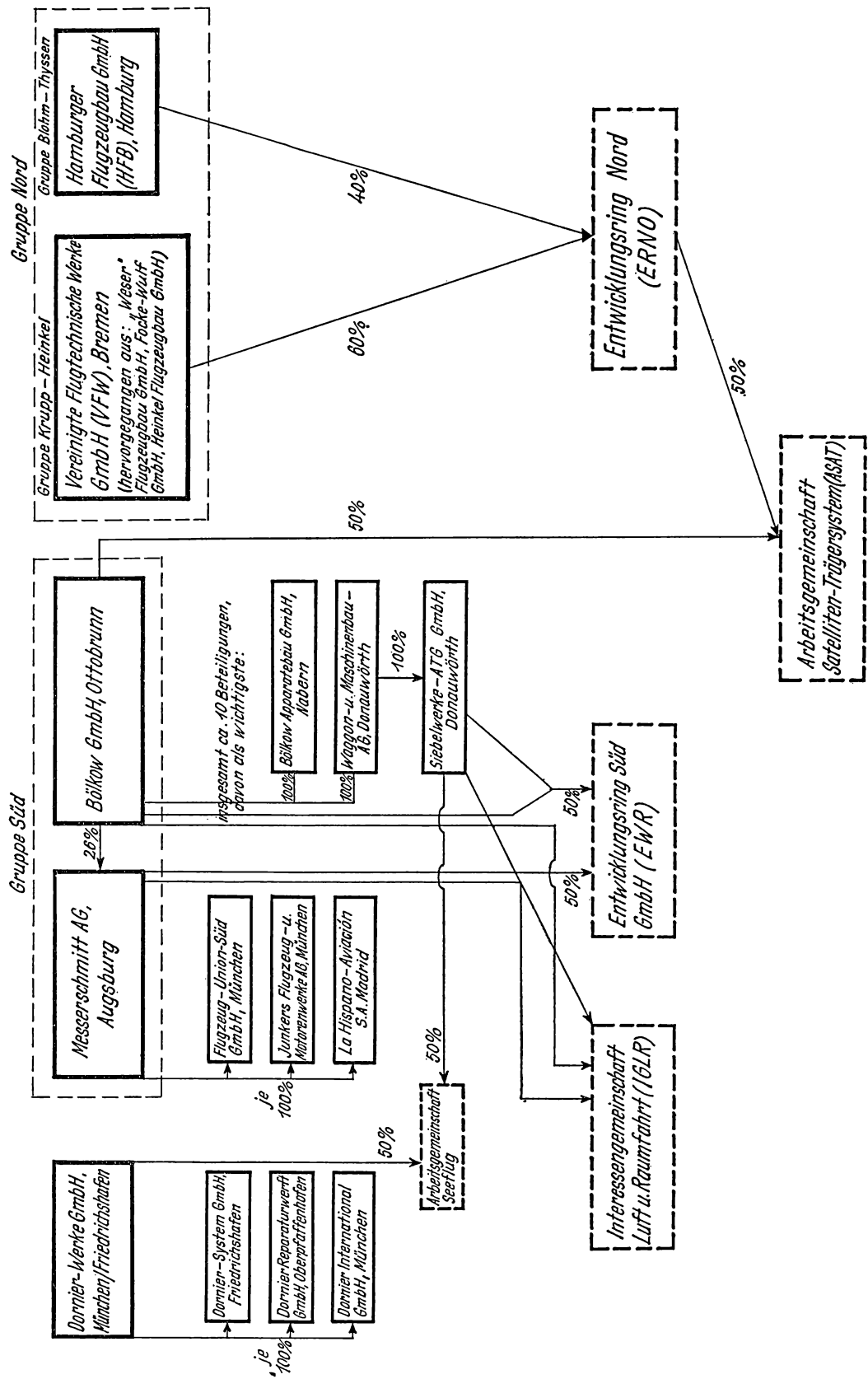
The original version of Protocol No. III of the Paris

Treaties in which West Germany was not allowed to manufacture missiles of over 2 metres' length, 30 centimetres diameter, 32 kilometres horizontal range, 660 metres per second velocity and a war head weight of 22.5 kilograms, was revised in 1958 and 1959. West Germany was conceded the right to produce anti-tank missiles and air defence missiles without limitation of their dimensions.

In the effort to quickly equip the Bundeswehr with additional missiles manufactured in West Germany, the Bonn government opposes the still-existing production restrictions for West Germany in the field of missiles. It systematically promotes the scientific research and development of such projects, such as cosmic research missiles, space research rockets which are classified under "civil use" but in fact prepare for its production of large military missiles which can serve as carriers for nuclear weapons.

With regard to an extensive West German home mis-

The diagram shows the most important connections in the West German aircraft, missile and satellite industry.



sile research and production, the government declaration of the Kiesinger/Strauss cabinet states:

"The promotion of research in the key fields of technical development, such as electronics, atomic energy and space research, is more profitable for the future of the entire economy than subsidies for development in areas which are in a state of stagnation." (*Bulletin des Presse- und Informationsamtes der Bundesregierung*, Bonn, 14 December 1966, p. 1266)

But this only applies to the speeding up of a process which has already assumed such proportions in West German economic life that it simply cannot be concealed any longer.

The government of the USSR, in its declaration of 29 January 1967, commented on this thoroughly illegal armament policy of the West German Federal Republic:

"The Soviet government has repeatedly directed the attention of the states and peoples to the fact that in the Federal Republic of Germany the creation of the material-technical basis for a national atomic and missile industry is being carried out in secret. It is now well known that very important parts of the state apparatus—various offices, committees and commissions—have amalgamated with the largest trusts and research centres of the country into a uniform missile and atomic cartel . . .

"The militarist circles of the Federal Republic of West Germany, which camouflage themselves by speaking of the necessity of 'keeping pace with technical progress' and which utilize the close interdependence of the possibilities to apply the latest achievements of atomic, missile and cosmic technology for peaceful as well as for military purposes, carry through extensive works of a military character in these fields." (*Neues Deutschland*, Berlin, 29 January 1967)

The West German armament trusts strive for missile weapons in three ways simultaneously:

From its own arsenal

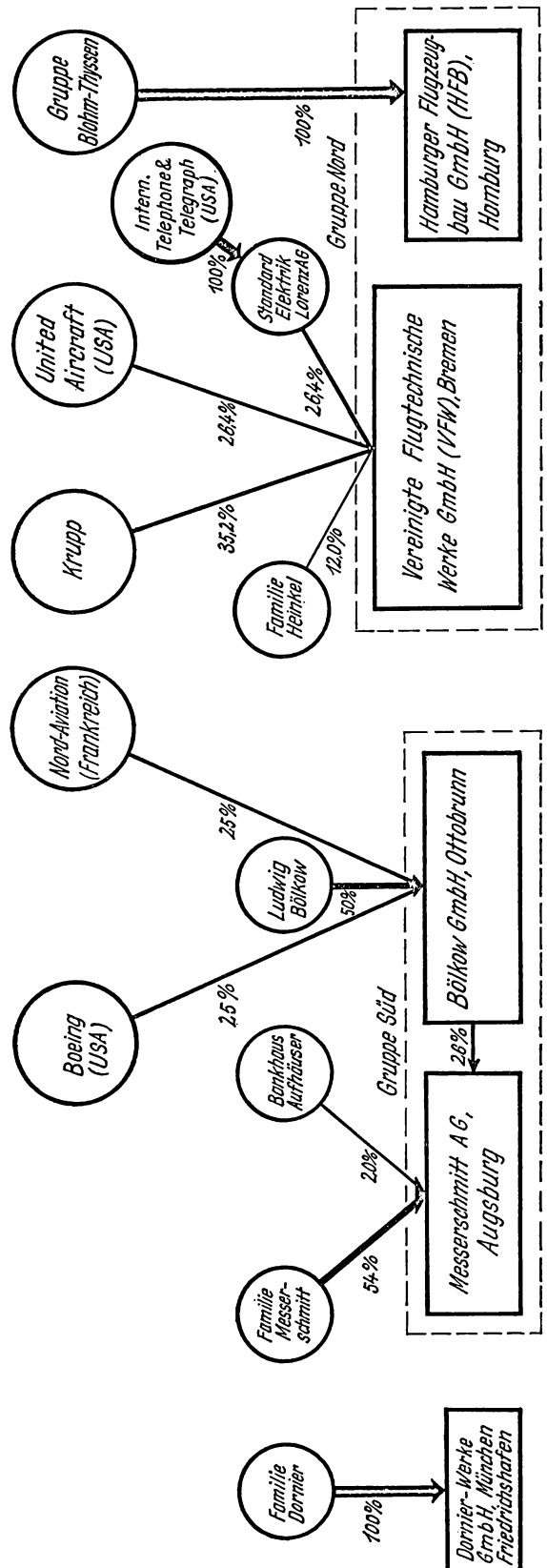
Since 1955 the Bölkow GmbH, Munich-Ottobrunn, develops and constructs anti-tank missiles. The Swiss periodical *Interavia* reported on this in September 1965:

"Especially in the sector of tactical guided weapons Bölkow had to record successes. Of the wire-guided anti-tank weapon 'Cobra' alone, more than 80,000 pieces were ordered in recent years and have already been delivered for the most part."

In 1959 the licenced construction of 8,000 air-to-air missiles of the American type "Sidewinder" began in the Bodenseewerk Perkin-Elmer & Co. GmbH, Überlingen/Lake of Constance.

On 5 December 1965 the Deutsche Waffen- und Luft-rüstung AG near Cuxhaven started producing 3.5-metre-long single-stage and 7.0-metre-long double-stage missi-

The diagrammatic representation shows the concentrated West German aircraft, missile and satellite industry, which is controlled by such home monopoly groups as Dornier, Messerschmitt, Aufhäuser, Bölkow, Heinkel, Krupp and Blohm-Thyssen as well as such foreign monopoly groups as Boeing (USA), Nord-Aviation (France), United Aircraft (USA) and International Telephone & Telegraph (USA).



The present head of the West German Institute for Rocket Fuel, Armin Dadiou, was—as the following excerpt from his personnel file shows—an active nazi. He was a member

of the nazi party from 1932 and SS Standartenführer. (Cf. section "In the Key Posts")

Der Reichsminister
für Wissenschaft, Erziehung
und Volksbildung
(Verwaltungsabteilung, Büro)

W P Nr.3905/39 (a)

Präsidialkanzlei
des Führers und Reichskanzlers
Eingeg. -2- 1940..
WPC 11/4

166

RI 1577, 41

Vorschlag zur Ernennung

des

außerordentl. Professors Dr. Armin Dadiou zum ordentlichen Professor.
(Entschlagschein, Name) (Entschlagschein)

☒ In der Reichsbefoldungsgruppe H 1 oder der ihr entsprechenden Landesbefoldungsgruppe

Beilage: 1 mitgezeichnete Urkunde

Der Stellvertreter des Führers hat
Einwendungen gegen die Ernennung
nicht erhoben.

Berlin, den 29. Januar 1940.

Im Auftrag
Herrn Staatsminister und Chef der Präsidialkanzlei
des Führers und Reichskanzlers
Berlin SS
Poststraße 1

In Vertretung
[Signature]

(Dieser Vorschlag ist der Präsidialkanzlei des Führers und Reichskanzlers vorzulegen)
Befehl Nr. 121 1913, 40 verfährt:

Im Namen des Deutschen Volkes
ernenne ich
Beamtin.
unter dem heutigen

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Ist die Ernennung des Reichsministers des Führers und Reichskanzlers eingeführt?	2. Ist die Ernennung des Reichsministers des Führers und Reichskanzlers eingeführt?	3. Ist die Ernennung des Reichsministers des Führers und Reichskanzlers eingeführt?	4. Ist die Ernennung des Reichsministers des Führers und Reichskanzlers eingeführt?	5. Ist die Ernennung des Reichsministers des Führers und Reichskanzlers eingeführt?	6. Ist die Ernennung des Reichsministers des Führers und Reichskanzlers eingeführt?	7. Ist die Ernennung des Reichsministers des Führers und Reichskanzlers eingeführt?
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64

The West German illustrated Quick recently reported to its readers on the training of the West German Bundeswehr with the treatment of prisoners as in Vietnam. It was stated, among other things: "feet, arms and throat are tied together with a rope. The adversary cannot move without strangling himself." (Upper row of pictures)

The magazine issued by the war minister, Truppenpraxis, Frankfurt-on-Main reported in its issue of October 1966 that the Bundeswehr was buying American war material only after it had been tested in Vietnam. The picture shows a helicopter model tested by the USA in its war against Vietnam (below).



Nahkampf mit der Waffe: Ein Kolbenstoß auf die Gurgel, „und der Mann ist hin“, erläutert der Ausbilder. Zweck des Einzelkämpfertrainings: Die künftigen Offiziere sollen lernen, sich allein durch feindliches Gebiet zu schlagen.



Gefangenbehandlung à la Vietnam: Mit einem Strick werden Füße,

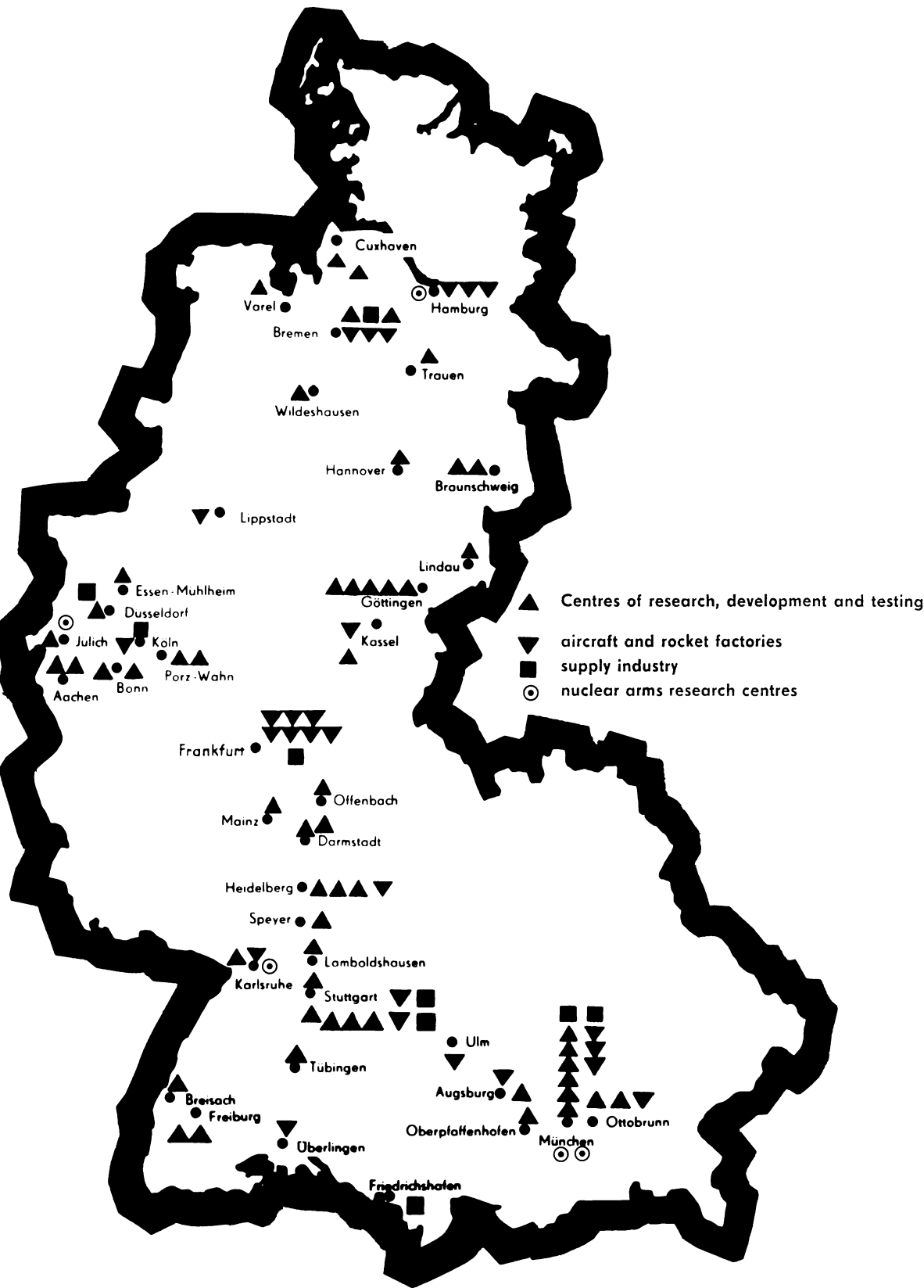
Arme und Hals zusammen gebunden. Der Gegner kann sich nicht bewegen, ohne sich zu erdrosseln.

Bell UH-1D "Irokease" - unübertroffene Beweglichkeit für Deutschlands Verteidigung

Die UH-1D hat jetzt über eine Million Stunden Flug- und Kampferfahrung erlangt. In Vietnam, wo ganze Divisionen unter schwierigsten Bedingungen mit Hubschraubern transportiert werden, fliegen die berühmten Bell UH-1 Hubschrauber gegenwärtig 6000 Einsätze pro Tag und sammeln somit monatlich 100.000 Flugstunden an.



Centres of research, production and testing of the West German rocket and atomic arms cartels.



Advertisement of the West German war ministry in the daily press. Experts are wanted for the "modern development and testing of weapons" (above).

One of the newly built testing stands for testing West German missiles (below).

Der Bundesminister der Verteidigung

sucht für interessante Aufgaben der
neuzzeitlichen Waffenentwicklung
und -erprobung

Diplom-Ingenieure

der Fachrichtungen: **Maschinenbau**
Elektrotechnik
Diplom-Physiker
Diplom-Mathematiker

Aufgabengebiete: Entwicklung und Erprobung von Waffen und Munition.
Entwurf und Aufbau neuer Meßanlagen.
Technisch-physikalische Waffenuntersuchungen.
Untersuchung und Auswertung ballistischer Fragen.

Geboten werden: Einstellung zunächst im Angestelltenverhältnis in Vergütungsgruppe III bis Ib BAT (Bundesangestelltentarifvertrag), je nach Kenntnissen und Erfahrungen.

Trennungentschädigung bei Familientrennung. Mithilfe bei Wohnraumbeschaffung. Gewährung weiterer Sozialleistungen.

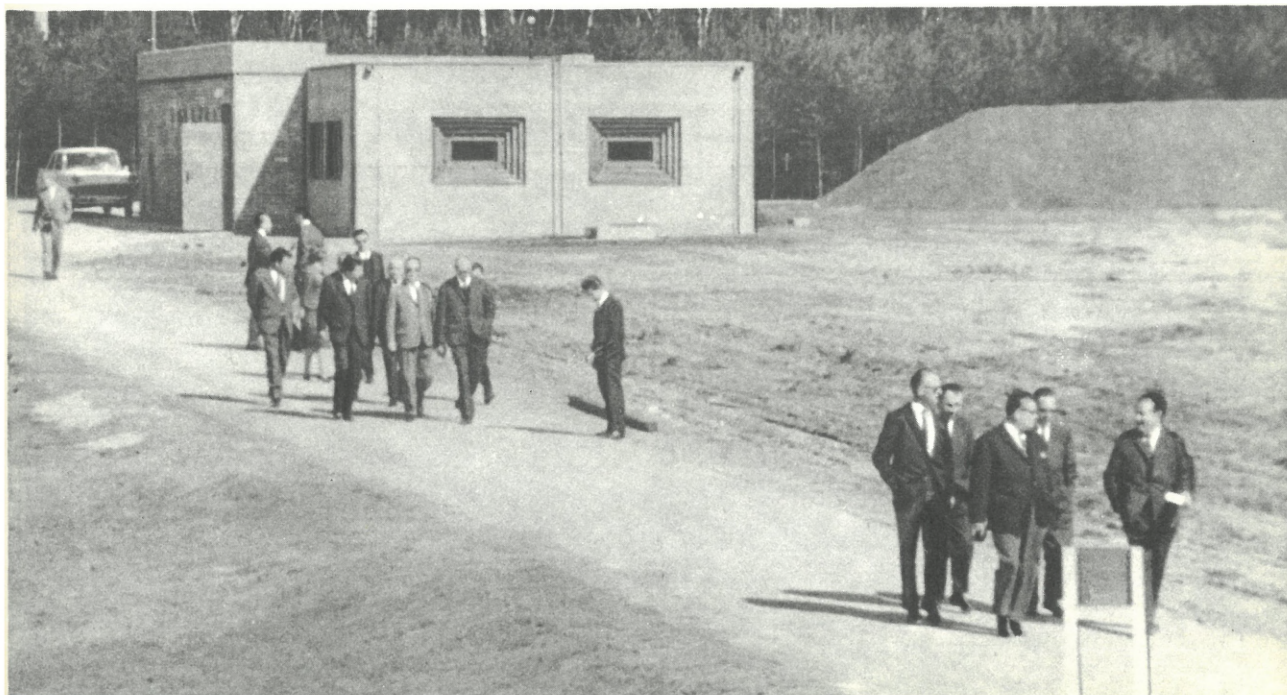
Spätere Übernahme als Beamter des höheren Dienstes ist bei Vorliegen der Voraussetzungen möglich.

Bewerbungen mit ausführlichen Unterlagen (handgeschriebener Lebenslauf, Lichtbild, Übersicht über Berufsausbildung und bisherige Tätigkeit, Zeugnisabschriften usw.) werden unter Kennziffer „16“ erbeten an

BUNDESAMT FÜR WEHRTECHNIK UND BESCHAFFUNG

64 Koblenz (Rhein), Am Rhein 2-6

— Vorstellung nur nach besonderer Aufforderung —



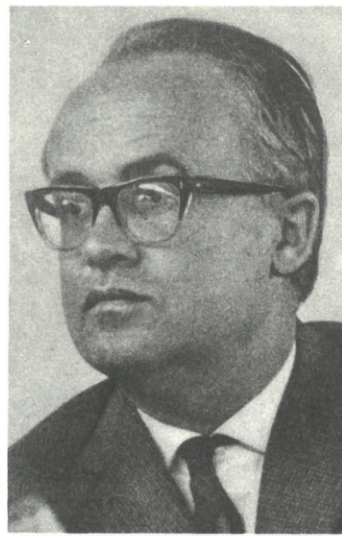
Hitler's "miracle weapon experts" are organizing the illegal production of missiles in West Germany.



Karl-Otto Saur



Karl Frydag



Ludwig Bölkow



Dr. Theodor Benecke

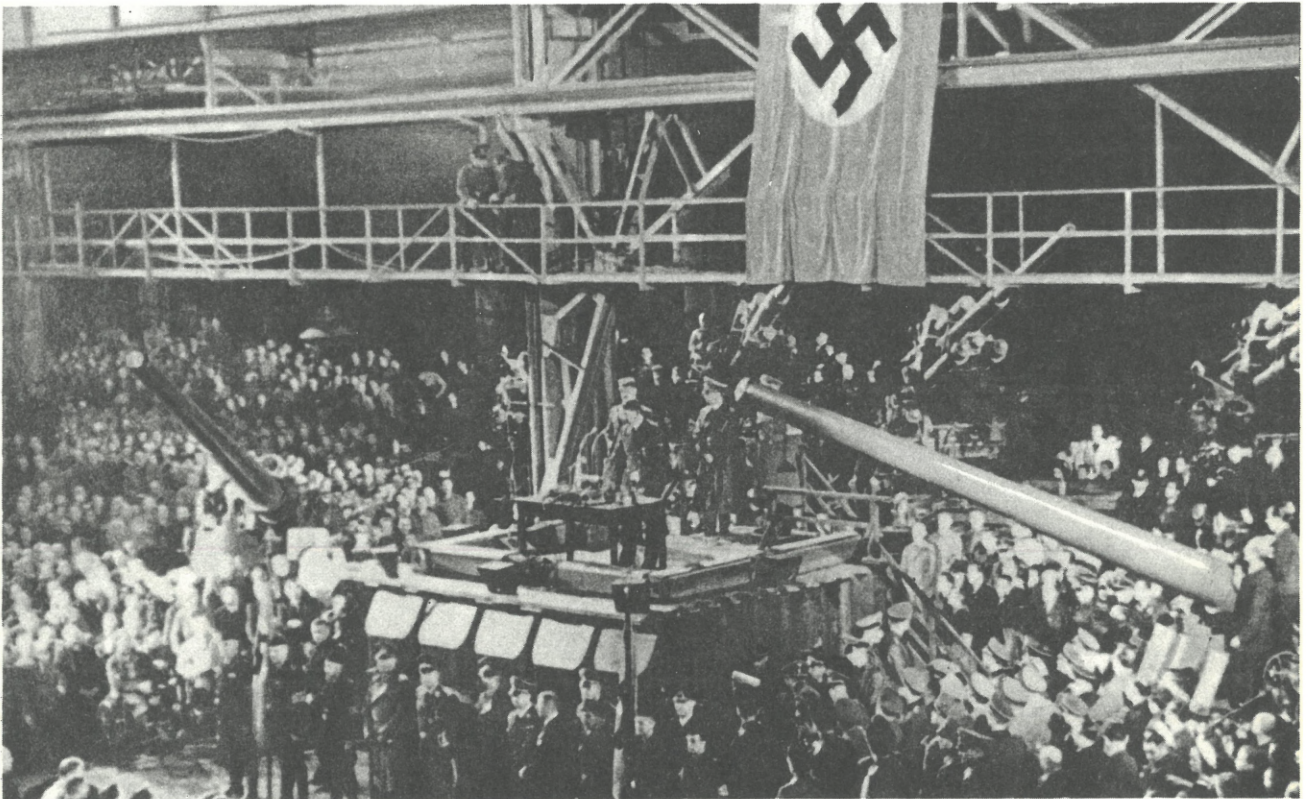


Dr. Hans Heyne

A striking similarity!

On 10 December 1940 Hitler demanded a greater war effort for the "ultimate victory" from the German workers formed as "loyal followers" (above).

Former War Minister von Hassel (left) and Inspector General of the Bundeswehr de Maizière took over the first West German "Leopard" tank from the Krauss Works in Munich (below).



The president of the West German Federal Bank, Karl Blessing, was decorated with the "Federal Cross of Merit"; under Hitler Blessing was a member of the intimate circle of Himmler's friends, as a war economy leader. (See section: "Blessing's Brown Bankers")



The columns of the West German economic review Capital are again full of anti-Jewish propaganda in the typical nazi jargon. The Jews are alleged to have been responsible for the inflation in Germany in 1923 and for the world economic

crisis in 1928. The above-named periodical published the following observation in its November 1966 issue: "One is reluctant . . . to employ Jews in the German economy."

Capital

Das deutsche
Wirtschaftsmagazin
5. Jahrgang
Nr. 11 / November 1966
3.- DM / 20.- S / 3.30 Fr.
C 3933 E

1966



Fabrikant, Alter 62

Das Klima in der deutschen Wirtschaft ist für die Juden nicht günstig. Im allgemeinen stellt man nicht gern Juden ein, um so Schwierigkeiten innerhalb der Belegschaft von vornherein zu begegnen. Man weiß einfach, daß nichtjüdische Mitarbeiter einem Juden gegenüber nicht unbefangen entgegenzutreten können. Das wissen auch die Juden, und sie werden sich deshalb auch in deutschen Betrieben nicht recht wohlfühlen können.

Juden
+Wirtschaft

= ? ? ? ? ? ? ? ? ? ?

Fabrikant, Jahresumsatz ca. 3 Millionen,
Alter 58 Jahre

Juden mischen in der Weltwirtschaft überall mit, sie sind die finanziellen Drahtzieher hinter den Kulissen, sie hängen eng zusammen und unterstützen einander. Die Inflation 1923 und die Weltwirtschaftskrise 1928 gingen auf die Juden zurück, diese brachten dabei auf Kosten aller anderen

Leute ihr Schäflein ins Trockene. Das habe ich selbst miterlebt. 1923 habe ich eine Banklehre gemacht, kurz vor dem Bankkrach verschwanden die jüdischen Besitzer auf Nimmerwiedersehen und ließen die Bank bankrott zurück.

Man hat nie wieder etwas von ihnen gehört, aber sicher geht es ihnen jetzt blendend.

West German armament trusts offer war material for sale
(from the advertising columns of Wehr und Wirtschaft,
Munich, 1967, No. 1)

HENSCHEL

Sonderfahrzeuge sind eines unserer Spezialgebiete. Wir bieten durchdachte, ausgereifte Konstruktionen. Wie zum Beispiel gepanzerte Kettfahrzeuge und geländegängige Mehrzweckfahrzeuge für militärische Zwecke, für den zivilen Bevölkerungsschutz und Katastropheneinsatz.

Rhein Stahl Henschel AG

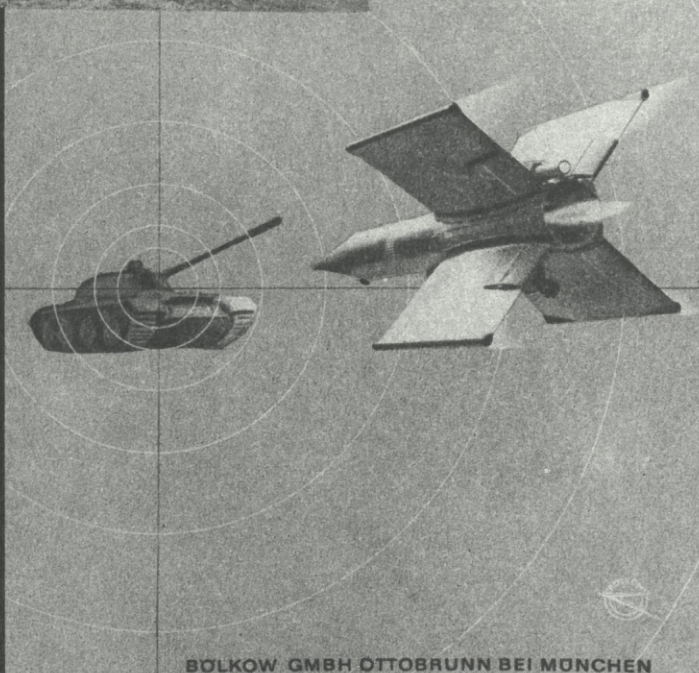
Rhein Stahl Henschel ist in der Lage schwierige Konstruktionsaufgaben zu realisieren. Bei der Lösung unserer Aufgaben können wir uns auf die breite technische Basis und die umfangreichen Kapazitäten der Rheinischen Stahlwerke abstützen. Bitte fordern Sie nähere Informationen.

35 Kassel Postfach 786 Henschelstraße 2
Telefon (05 51) 80 11 Telex 099 791
Bundesrepublik Deutschland



COBRA

Waffensystem
zur
Panzerabwehr



BÖLKOW GMBH OTTOBRUNN BEI MÜNCHEN

les whose possible perpendicular of trajectory was indicated with 80 and 140 kilometres respectively.

The company was liquidated after strong international protest, it is true, but since it had no production plants of its own and only assembled the parts this was a formal juridical act. The potential then already available was not dissolved but later enlarged and newly formed.

The Dynamit Nobel AG, Troisdorf, has been working for years on missile fuels. In an advertisement covering half a page of the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* of 6 August 1966 it publicly sought further specialists for "missile and space technology" as well as for the "working out of suitable production procedures for missile fuels and charges".

More than 25 distinguished West German trusts and enterprises of the aviation, chemical, electro-electronic and metal industries are meanwhile involved in missile tests.

In the "Memorandum on the Total Industrial Importance of the Aerotechnical and Space Travel Technology" of the Bonn Federal Association of German Industry, the following additional proposals for the promotion of military projects were made at the beginning of November 1966:

"The aircraft firms should be given an opportunity of carrying through developmental work on their own initiative outside the direct orders of the defence department. The financing of this developmental work should be arranged so that all defence orders receive an extra allowance for 'free development'; that is to say in principle based on expenditures of the year before . . .

"Deviating from the demand that with the granting of conditionally repayable credits the industry should basically raise 40 per cent of the development costs itself, the grant should rather be varied in accordance with the size of the project. The 40 per cent participation of the firms is not tolerable because the capital of the firms with larger projects is too low.

"Some 10 to 20 per cent of the budget for experimental development projects which are available for civil aircraft development, necessary because of the application of new technology or methods of construction, should be granted as 100 per cent convertible credits or subsidies . . .

"Far-reaching financial promotion of space travel and space research secured through the federal budget for a period of a few years, and continuity of state expenditures is the prerequisite for a disposition of the industry." (*Handelsblatt*, Düsseldorf, 9 November 1966)

It can be seen from the government declaration quoted here that the Kiesinger/Strauss government, after taking up its duties, has zealously assumed these principal requirements of the organization of the West German monopoly bourgeoisie. Accordingly, even more state means than up to now will be used for the research, development and production, especially of new arms systems for the Bundeswehr. Here is the proof:

Expenditures for Atomic, Missile and Space Research from 1956 to 1967 (in million marks)

	1956 Actual expendi- tures	1965	1966 Budget plan	1967 Budget draft plan
Atomic energy research and utilization	16.7	344.0	479.1	567.9
Contribution to the European Atomic Community	—	99.3	123.3	155.4
Defence technical research, development and testing*)	9.0	688.6	581.5	784.5
Space research	—	143.5	228.1	277.8
Total	25.7	1,275.4	1,412.0	1,785.6

*) including the corresponding expenditures for conventional weapons

(German Bundestag, 5th electoral period, printed matter V/1000 and supplement, Bonn, 2 November 1966; 3rd electoral period, supplement to printed matter 300; 2nd electoral period, printed matter 2900)

From 1958 to 1966 the Bonn government has granted the West German aeronautical, missile and space research total subsidies amounting to 1,022,195,000 marks. (Cf. federal budget plans 1960 to 1965 and the 1966 draft federal budget plan)

The subsidies increased from year to year.

The proof of the *direct* financing of West German aeronautical, missile and satellite research by the Bonn war ministry is especially instructive. The CDU war ministers paid the following subsidies from their funds in the last six years:

Financing of the German-French institute in St. Louis	34,722,000 marks
Financing of the research and testing centre for aerotechnics and missile technology of the Industrial Plant Enterprise Society	13,970,000 marks
Financing of the German Society for Aeronautical Sciences Reg.	190,554,400 marks
Financing of various research societies and institutes; Scientific Society for Aviation and Space Travelling Reg., from 1962 to 1966	470,000 marks
Carl Cranz Society from 1964 to 1966	212,000 marks
Total	<u>239,928,400 marks</u>

(Compiled from the 1960 to 1965 federal budget plans and the 1966 draft federal budget plan, single plan 14, 1960 to 1964, actual figures, 1965 to 1966 account figures)

As one-time CDU war minister, Kai-Uwe von Hassel boasted in the autumn of 1966 "with our (meaning Bundeswehr—editor) far more than 5,000 research projects, with our considerable development and production tasks which we have set the German science and economy . . .", at the same time he accentuated the close Bundeswehr "cooperation with some 120 institutes of the universities and the industry and with 65 public utility research institutes outside the universities, the number of university institutes collaborating with the defence is growing constantly". (K.-U. von Hassel, "Wissenschaft—Wehrtechnik—Wehrpolitik", *ibid*, p. 12)

The advancing militarization of the entire West German research capacity is characterized in the area of military rockets:

Such projects are being worked on in West Germany in more than fifty scientific institutes, at more than a dozen experimenting sites and in few hundred manufacturing enterprises of all sizes.

It can be stated that all scientific-technical institutions in West Germany and West Berlin in consideration are especially involved in missile research. This applies to 20 institutes of the (West) German Testing Institute for Aviation and Space Travel (DVL) in Aachen, Bonn, Essen-Mühlheim, Göttingen, Freiburg, Munich, Porz-Wahn and West Berlin;

8 institutes of the universities in Bonn, Freiburg, Göttingen, Hamburg, Heidelberg, Mainz, Tübingen and West Berlin;

8 institutes of the technical colleges in Aachen, Braunschweig, Darmstadt, Hanover, Karlsruhe, Munich, Stuttgart and West Berlin;

7 institutes of the Max Planck Society in Düsseldorf, Göttingen, Heidelberg, Lindau (2), Munich and Stuttgart;

6 state institutes in Breisach, Darmstadt, Heidelberg, Jülich, Offenbach and St. Louis (France);

1 institute of the (West) German Missile Society (Hermann Oberth Society) in Bremen;

1 institute of the (West) German Society for Missile Technology and Space Travel (DGRR) in Stuttgart;

1 institute of the Bölkow GmbH in Munich-Ottobrunn;

1 institute of the Scientific Society for Aviation (WGL) in Braunschweig;

1 institute of the Graf Zeppelin Works and Research Community in Stuttgart.

This survey makes also obvious to what extent scientific-technical research institutes in West Berlin, that means outside West German state territory in contradiction of international law, are already involved in West German war research at the instigation of the Bonn extremists.

Together with the NATO Partners

In 1959 a joint serial production of the American ground-air missile "M-3 Hawk" began in France which has meanwhile been stopped. The West German electro-

trust AEG Telefunken had a 20 per cent participation in this "SETEL" company.

In the sixties cooperation began between the West German Bölkow GmbH firm and the leading French missile trust "Nord-Aviation" which in 1965 had a 25 per cent participation in the West German Bölkow GmbH. Soon afterwards the *Nürnberger Nachrichten* confirmed on 17–18 November 1965:

"The cooperation between Germany and France in the construction of new tanks and anti-aircraft *missiles* is excellent. At present the anti-tank missiles 'Milan' and 'Hot' and the anti-low-flying-plane 'Roland' missile are being constructed. These new weapon systems are developed, tested and manufactured by the French 'Nord-Aviation' and the German Bölkow GmbH."

On Mutual Agreement

In addition, the Bonn state is a member of the two most important West European space travel and missile organizations. Its financial contribution to the program of the ELDO (European Launcher Development Organization) amounts to 27 per cent and of the ESRO (European Space Research Organization) to 21.5 per cent.

In connection with the construction of the third stage of the ELDO missile, a missile test stand of the most up-to-date construction came into existence in Lampoldshausen, 25 kilometres north-east of Heilbronn. The *Düsseldorfer Handelsblatt* of 21 December 1966 reported on this:

"In the test stand of the Lampoldshausen DLV station which has no match in Europe, conditions are simulated which would exist at the ignition of the missile stage in a height of fifty kilometres . . .

"Fully independent of the already finished works for the Lampoldshausen missile test station, Leybold developed a large satellite test chamber with space coldness and artificial sun, together with Linde, Zeiss, Siemens, and AEG on the order of the Society for Space Research which is 95 per cent state-owned."

ELDO and ESRO work with concentration at the so-called *Europe missile*, for which the ASAT Satellite Carrier Systems Work Community in Munich constructs the third stage. The first production results have already been tested on the missile test area in Australia.

The Junkers Flugzeug- und Motorenwerke AG (aircraft and motor works) in Munich have received a 25 million mark order from the ESRO to construct the so-called Heos satellite. The American Lockheed firm is participating in this order along with British, French and West German enterprises.

In addition there exist bilateral agreements with the USA on the starting of West German satellites by the USA and on the realization of joint space research projects.

The *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* reported on this on 5 January 1966:

"Before Christmas President Johnson proposed to Federal Chancellor Erhard a closer German-American cooperation in space enterprises such as sending sounds to Jupiter and the sun, but even earlier the American NASA space authority and the Federal Republic had agreed upon the start of a first German satellite. This 'Memorandum of Understanding' of 17 July 1965 provides for the dispatch of a smaller satellite into an elliptic, polar orbit . . . Studies of German industrial enterprises formed the background of America's latest decision."

The start of this satellite with the project marking 625 A-1 is planned for 1968. Along with various West German institutes eight firms take part in it:

Allgemeine Elektrizitäts-Gesellschaft AEG Telefunken, Frankfurt-on-Main/West Berlin
 Bölkow GmbH, Munich-Ottobrunn
 Dornier System GmbH, Friedrichshafen
 Entwicklungsring Nord GmbH (ERNO)
 Junkers Flugzeug- und Motorenwerke AG, Munich
 Standard Elektrik Lorenz AG, Stuttgart
 Siemens AG, Munich

It must not be overlooked that in the USA, according to §§ 201 and 204 of the Law on Aviation and Space Flight of 1958, the steady close cooperation of all civil and military institutions concerned is compulsory.

But today the West German imperialists and militarists operate with long-distance and cosmic missiles not only in

- West Europe,
- North America and
- Australia, but also in
- Africa - that means on four continents already.

In the fascist Republic of South Africa near Pretoria there is a strictly guarded "institute for long-range missiles", meaning cosmic missiles.

West German "industrial experts" and Bundeswehr specialists in civilian dress have an authoritative share

in the preparation of missile production there. The firms concerned are the Munich Bölkow GmbH and the former Waffen- und Luftrüstungs-AG Hamburg which was forced to stop its missile tests in the shallows of the North Sea by international protests. Now it continues these tests on the missile test area near Pretoria after the removal of its specialists to South Africa. (Cf. Memorandum on Military and Atomic Cooperation of the Federal Republic of Germany and the Republic of South Africa, Berlin, 1964, p. 27)

The Siemens and Telefunken trusts also sent technicians and experts to this South African missile research institute. (Cf. *Sunday Spectator and Vanguard*, Accra, 3 August 1964)

West Germany is chiefly interested in the testing of long-distance missiles in South Africa. For this purpose a "missile observation and ionosphere station" with 120-metre-high antennas was erected in the spring of 1964 near the town of Tsumeb in South West Africa, near the border of Angola and thousands of kilometres from Pretoria, by the institute for aeronomy in Lindau. (Cf. *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 29 April 1964)

This institute cooperates closely with the West German war ministry. Its experiments are directly financed from the budget of this ministry. (Cf. *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 10 April 1964)

In the Key Posts

The international danger of the illegal Bonn missile armament is increased by the fact that almost all key positions in the state monopolist power and guiding apparatus competent for it are occupied by seriously incriminated nazi leaders and fascist armament technocrats. Here, too, the war criminal and most powerful banker of West Germany, Abs, can be found at the top. He sets the fashion in the aviation council. Furthermore the following men take part in the illegal missile gang:

Benecke, Dr. Theodor

today: President of the federal office for defence technology and procurement, deputy chairman of the German test institute for aviation and space flight, Mühlheim, member of the West German commission for space research

before 1945: Gliding bomb and special weapons expert in the fascist Reich air ministry

Bock, Prof. Dr.-Ing. Günther

today: Director of the institute for flying technology of the technical college in Darmstadt, deputy chairman of the West German commission for space research, leading function in the ELDO

before 1945: Director of Göring's German test institute for aviation

Bölkow, Ludwig, certified engineer

today: Chief of the Bölkow-Entwicklungen research and armament works in Munich, of the Bölkow-Apparatebau Nabern/Teck and Schrobenhausen

before 1945: Leading design engineer in the fascist Messerschmitt aircraft armament trust

Dadieu, Prof. Dr.-Ing. Armin

today: Head of the institute for missile fuels of the West German test institute for aviation and space flight, Stuttgart/Vaihingen

before 1945: Member of the illegal nazi party in Austria since 1932, nazi provincial office leader, SS Standartenführer, participated in the development of the fascist V 2 war missile

Dornier, Prof. Dr.-Ing. Claudius

after 1945: Aircraft armament industrialist, member of the board of directors of the West German test institute for aviation, Mülheim-on-Ruhr, member of the Bonn advisory aviation council, member of the board of the scientific society for aviation,

before 1945: head of the main aircraft construction committee with the Reich minister for armament and war production, chief of the Dornier aircraft armament trust, head of the special aircraft construction department of the industry Reich group, war economy leader of Hitler Germany

Engel, Ing. Rolf

after 1945: Chief missile design engineer in the research and armament enterprise Bölkow-Entwicklungen in Munich

before 1945: SS Hauptsturmführer and head of the SS testing office for missile weapons in Grossendorf near Danzig

Frydag, Dipl.-Ing. Karl

today: Member of the board of control of the West German test institute for aviation and syndicate member of the West German society for air sciences in Bonn, member of the Bonn "club of air navigation"

before 1945: General manager of the Heinkel air armament trust, war economy leader of Hitler Germany, decorated with the "Knight's Cross of the War Service Cross"

Gossiau, Ing. Fritz

after 1945: Business manager and chief missile designing engineer of the Junkers GmbH

before 1945: Development engineer for fascist V 2 war missiles

Heyne, Dr. Hans

today: Chairman of the board of directors of the Telefunken AG, missile adviser to the West German federal association of the air and space navigation industry

before 1945: Leader of the main committee for aircraft equipment with the Reich minister of armament and war production, commissioner-general in the AEG armament monopoly, war economy leader of Hitler Germany, decorated with the "Knight's Cross of the War Service Cross"

Quick, Prof. Dr.-Ing. August Wilhelm

today: Head of the institute for aviation of the technical college in Aachen, member of the West German commission for space research

before 1945: Chief designing engineer in the Junkers air armament trust, head of Göring's German test institute for aeronautics in Berlin

Rodenstock, Prof. Dr. Rolf

today: Chairman of the Association of the German Precision Mechanical and Optical Industry, member of the West German commission for space research, decorated with the Bonn "Distinguished Service Medal"

before 1945: Armament organizer in the precision mechanics/optics sector dispensed from the fascist Wehrmacht

Rothe, Dr. Leo S.

after 1945: Member of the board of directors of the West German test institute for aviation, Mülheim-on-Ruhr, and honorary president of the Federal Union of the West German Aviation and Space Industry in Bad Godesberg

before 1945: General director of the Junkers Flugzeug- und Motorenwerke AG, air armament expert of Hitler Germany, his name was on the American list of war criminals

Rudorf, Fritz

today: Chairman of the board of directors of the Hamburger Flugzeugbau GmbH, the Junkers Flugzeug- und Motorenwerke AG, Munich, and the Messerschmitt AG, Augsburg, chairman of the West German commission for space flight technology, chairman of the special group economy and finance questions of the Bonn German commission for space research, chairman of a commission of the Bonn advisory aviation council, member of the executive board of the Deutsche Lufthansa AG, treasurer of the Bonn aviation club

before 1945: Chairman of the board of directors of the Bank der Deutschen Luftfahrt, financier of the German air armament

Ruff, Dr. Siegfried

today: Head of the Institute for Aeronautical Medicine of the West German Aviation and Space Flight Experimental Station in Bad Godesberg

before 1945: Head of the Institutue for Aeronautical Medicine of the German Air Navigation Experimental Station in Berlin, participated in inhuman low pressure experiments for the fascist Luftwaffe on prisoners of Dachau concentration camp, his name was on the Belgian list of war criminals under the number A-16/112

Saur, Karl-Otto

today: Head of a technical bureau in Munich-Pullach for advising the West German missile armament

before 1945: Senior department head and office manager of the fascist armament ministry, deputy head of Göring's "Jägerstab", armament minister in the fascist Dönitz government, decorated with the "Knight's Cross of the War Service Cross"

Schneider, Herbert

today: Business manager of the West German Federal Association of the German Aviation and Space Industry e.V. in Bad Godesberg

after 1945: General secretary and chairman of the parliamentary group of the Deutsche Partei in the Bundestag

before 1945: General staff candidate officer of the Luftwaffe

Stengler, Richard, engineer

after 1945: Chairman and business manager of the Federal Association of the Aviation Accessories and Rocket Industry e.V. in Frankfurt-on-Main and chairman of the Waffen- und Luftrüstungs AG in Hamburg

before 1945: Leading technician in the Reich air ministry, took part in the development of the fascist V 2 war missile

Thalau, Prof. Dr.-Ing. Karl

today: Business manager of Ernst Heinkel Flugzeugbau GmbH (aircraft construction), member of the West German commission for space research, president of the Vereinigte Flugtechnische Werke (air technology works), member of the Bonn aviation council, member of the Bonn aviation club, member of the board of the West German scientific society for aviation and space flight

before 1945: War economy leader of Hitler Germany

Special contributions were made by the following men in the planning and preparation of the equipment of the West German federal navy with guided missiles and rockets as carriers of nuclear weapons:

Blohm, Dipl.-Ing. Rudolf

after 1945: Member of the board of directors of the Blohm & Voss AG, Hamburg, and head of the main commission for warship construction in the West German work community for defence technology

before 1945: War economy leader of Hitler Germany

The entire West German "aviation club (CDL)" is an exclusive club of the leading officers of the Nazi and federal air forces and the monopolies interested in the rocket and aircraft business.

At present the West German war ministry is pressing with all its might for the speeding up of the concentration process in the West German aircraft and missile industry.

"Under the pressure of the defence ministry the fusion

Docter, Heinz

after 1945: Speed-boat development engineer of the federal navy

before 1945: Chief engineer in the fascist main office for warship construction, in 1944 designer of the "Kobra" miniature torpedo speedboat for the small fighting units of the fascist war navy

Fischer, Karl

after 1945: Specialist in the construction of submarines and chief of the defence technology department of the Bonn war ministry

before 1945: Naval construction director of the fascist navy

Fuhrmann, Reinhold

after 1945: Expert for illegal armament in the "Empresa Nacional Bazan" submarine construction office in Madrid, ministerial counsellor in the Bonn war ministry

before 1945: Naval senior construction counsellor of the fascist navy

Leyers, Hans

after 1945: Commissioner for warship construction at the Schlieker shipyard

before 1945: Major-general of the Hitler Wehrmacht and general commissioner of the fascist armament ministry in Italy

Meendsen-Bohlken, Wilhelm

after 1945: Business manager of the commission for defense economic affairs in the Bonn Federal Union of the German Industry

before 1945: Vice-admiral of the fascist navy

Walther, Hellmuth

today: Partner of the Hellmuth Walther GmbH

before 1945: Enterprise manager of the fascist H. Walther armament factory in Kiel (Walther submarines), decorated with the "Knight's Cross of the War Service Cross"

talks in the German aeronautical industry assume a concrete shape. For example, there appears on the horizon a pool between the Vereinigte Flugtechnische Werke (VFW) and the Bölkow group." (*Die Welt*, West Berlin, 2 March 1967)

The aim of the concentration movement is the creation of a firmly interlaced gigantic West German air armament cartel as a part of the state monopolist armament economy.

Economic Foundations of Expansion and Neo-nazism

THE CONCENTRATION OF POWER

Renunciation of Potsdam

The strengthening of political reaction, the dangerous advance of neo-nazism and the manifestations of the policy of expansion of the ruling circles of West Germany, which are becoming increasingly obvious and open, are a direct outcome of the reinstatement of the aggressive forces of German monopoly capital in power after 1945 with the help of the western powers. These are the same aggressive forces which brought fascism to power in 1933 which plunged the world into the holocaust of a world war in 1939 for the second time. The economic power of these monopolies today, 22 years after the Second World War, is greater than ever before.

The concentration and centralization of capital has reached a degree in West Germany which is unique in the history of German imperialism. At the end of June 1966 there were 2,501 joint-stock companies in West Germany with an original capital of 42.7 thousand million marks. The 92 largest of them (each with an original capital of 100 million marks or more) concentrated 60.3 per cent of the original capital of all West German joint-stock companies in their hands.

In 1938—at the height of the war preparations of fascist Germany—the 30 share companies of this size held only 28.5 per cent of the entire share capital. At that time there were only three joint-stock companies with an original capital exceeding 300 million Reichsmarks each (the IG-Farbenindustrie AG, the Vereinigte Stahlwerke AG and the Hermann Göring Reichswerke AG für Erzbergbau und Eisenhütten); today there are 30 such companies. The three main companies of the IG-Farben (Badische Anilin- und Sodafabrik, Farbenfabriken Bayer and Farbwerke Hoechst AG) together have a basic capital of 3,552 thousand million marks as against 720 million Reichsmarks of the former IG-Farbenindustrie!

The degree of concentration of economic power in West Germany is actually very much greater than the statistics of the joint-stock companies show, because the proportion of share-holdings is not taken into account. If, however, the multiple and varied tie-ups between the large trusts are taken into account (the IG-Farben group, for example, has capital tie-ups with regard to almost all major West German trusts, including Siemens, AEG, Haniel, Mannesmann, Thyssen, Flick and Krupp), the following picture emerges:

The seven most powerful groups of West German

monopoly capital represent, together with such trusts which are in the sphere of influence of several of these groups, approximately 40 per cent of the West German industrial potential.

After the defeat of the Hitler regime by the Soviet Union and its allies the necessary conditions prevailed in the whole of Germany to completely eliminate the power and influence of its imperialist forces. The Potsdam Agreement of 2 August 1945, among other things, stipulated unequivocally:

"... German militarism and nazism will be extirpated and the allies will take in agreement together, now and in the future, the other measures necessary to assure that Germany never again will threaten its neighbours or the peace of the world...

"It is the intention of the allies that the German people be given the opportunity to prepare for the eventual reconstruction of their life on a democratic and peaceful basis.

"If their own efforts are steadily directed to this end, it will be possible for them in due course, to take their place among the free and peaceful peoples of the world...

"3. The aims of the occupation of Germany, which is to serve as a guide for the Control Council, are:

(I) Complete disarmament and demilitarization of Germany and the dismantling of the whole of German industry which can be used for war production, or its supervision...

"12. At the earliest practicable date, the German economy shall be decentralized for the purpose of eliminating the present excessive concentration of economic power as exemplified in particular by cartels, syndicates, trusts and other monopolistic arrangements."

At that time it was possible, and necessary to remove, along with political rule, the economic domination of the monopolies in the whole of Germany, establish an anti-fascist-democratic order and in this way deprive the aggressive forces of a basis for new activities. Such a development in Germany would have conformed with the needs of the historical laws of development.

In view of the terrible experiences of the Second World War, such a development was the declared will of the overwhelming majority of the people in all parts of Germany at that time. This is proved by the plebiscites of 1946 in Saxony and Hesse in which the population elected to deprive the forces of big capital, which were responsible for fascism and war, of their economic power forever.

Whereas this alternative to an imperialist policy had been realized, in the GDR, the reactionary West German forces aided by the western occupation powers prevented the destruction of the monopolies and the elimination of militarism in the present-day West German Federal Republic.

The West German monopolies could completely re-establish their power. The iron and steel trusts, as well

as the monopoly banks, the Deutsche Bank, Dresdner Bank and Commerzbank, which were at first "decentralized" on instructions of the occupation powers, very soon got around to organizing a recentralization. The IG-Farben trust was sub-divided into three complex groups, based on a plan already devised during the war by the "Council of the Gods". Most trusts, however, including two enterprises so closely connected with armaments as Siemens and AEG, were not even subject to the "decentralization".

The western powers gave German monopoly capital the opportunity to prepare for new conquests and to raise revanchist demands. The West German imperialists realized that, due to the changes in the world situation, the risk of going it alone had become too great for them and they therefore oriented themselves on realizing their aims at the side of the strongest imperialist power. Today they are the main ally and the sword of American imperialism on the European continent.

This development has caused a considerable growth of the economic potential of West German imperialism. Today it is about twice as large as the economic potential of the whole of Germany prior to the Second World War. Industrial production has even trebled in comparison with German industrial production in 1936. The percentage of gross investments to the social product today amounts to some 27.8 per cent—at the time of fascism it was 15 per cent. The importance of West Germany on the world market increased rapidly at the expense of other imperialist countries. Foreign trade (exports and imports together) reached a volume of 142.1 thousand million marks in 1965 against 50.2 thousand million marks in 1955. Capital exports also greatly increased: The direct private capital investments of West German businessmen abroad amounted to 8.3 thousand million marks in the period from 1952 to 1965.

Beneficiaries of this rapid growth of social wealth in the first place were the big monopolies—their profits almost trebled within a period of 10 years. According to the figures of the German Institute of Economics, Berlin, the profits of 50 representative companies soared to the round sum of seven thousand million marks.

Multi-millionaires Organize Concentration

In recent years the tempo of capital concentration has increased even more, although it was already very high in the previous period. This is clearly indicated by capital increase of joint-stock companies (AG) and limited liability companies (GmbH) shown in millions of marks in the following table:

	Capital Increases		
	AGs	GmbHs	total
1955	2,104.3	372.7	2,477.0
1956	1,813.9	510.7	2,324.6
1957	2,167.5	547.8	2,715.3
1958	1,192.8	767.2	1,960.0
1959	1,901.9	1,422.6	3,324.5
1960	3,447.3	3,076.9	6,524.2
1961	3,209.2	2,022.4	5,231.6
1962	1,920.2	2,126.8	4,047.0
1963	1,708.1	1,815.3	3,523.4
1964	2,510.5	2,052.4	4,562.9
1965	4,591.5	2,306.4	6,897.9

(*Wirtschaft und Statistik*, Stuttgart-Mainz, in No. 3 of each relevant year)

The West German monopolists ever more openly demand from the Bonn government state support for further concentration and centralization, pointing to the growing pressures of competition from the US monopolies.

"The largest (West) German trusts still appear like ridiculous dwarfs compared to the giant enterprises of the USA with which they have to compete." (*Industriekurier*, Düsseldorf, 23 August 1966)

The slogan now used to win "understanding" and to gain popularity for the giant monopolization drive now in full swing is

"Trusts are nevertheless better than bankruptcy." (*Ibid.*)

The chairman of the board of directors of the Siemens trust, Ernst von Siemens, declared unabashedly that the West German industrialists "are at the beginning of a bigger wave of cooperation and mergers than has ever been experienced before". (*Blick durch die Wirtschaft*, Frankfurt-on-Main, 5 April 1966)

All this is only the beginning, we are told by this influential finance capitalists. And truly, already now there is talk about merging all West German automobile enterprises into one super trust. West German big capital has set out on the march into "gigantomania". They demand from their politicians a social system which considers the well-being of the trusts to be identical with the well-being of the community and which would also safeguard the new policy of expansion against any opposition whatsoever. Emergency laws, programs of moderation, stabilization laws, party and parliamentary reforms, constitutional amendments supplement the potential economic power increases in the political field.

Since the middle of the nineteen-sixties traditional finance capitalist structures are in flux. Almost overnight, through mergers of existing big trusts, new, even larger giants have emerged. The partnership between Daimler-Benz and Volkswagenwerk, the agreement between Siemens and Bosch and others by far outstrip the

IG-Farben merger of 1925. The mergers of the contemporary capital profiteers exceed anything known in the expansionist strivings of German imperialism of former times. A basic feature of it is the principle: "Maximization of profits through colossal size at all costs".

Here are just a few typical examples of these developments:

In the influence sphere of Krupp a merger of the Bochumer Verein für Gussstahlfabrikation AG with the Hütten und Bergwerke Rheinhausen AG into the Friedr. Krupp Hüttenwerke AG occurred.

The two Dortmund Montan trusts, Hoesch AG and Dortmund-Hörder Hüttenunion AG merged and simultaneously associated with the Dutch Koninklijke Nederlandsche Hoogovens en Staalfabriken N. V.

The Thyssen trust invested to the extent of a half share-holding in the Stahlwerke Bochum AG which belong to the Otto-Wolff-Stumm trust and in the Stahl und Röhrenwerk Reisholz GmbH which is part of the Thyssen Bornemisza sphere of influence.

Thirty West German steel trusts formed four regional sales organizations, which will practically control the entire West German rolled steel production as well as investments and sales. This is, however, only a transition stage of a closer monopoly centralization of the West German iron and steel industries.

In West German shipbuilding two important mergers occurred: in February 1966 Blohm and Voss AG (Thyssen trust) took over the shipyard of H. C. Stülcken Sohn. In May 1966 the two state-owned shipyards Kieler Howaldtswerke AG and Howaldtswerke Hamburg AG merged with the Deutsche Werft AG (principal shareholders: Haniel trust and AEG).

The Siemens trust announced that by 1 October 1966 the up till now independent trust companies of Siemens & Halske, Siemens-Schuckertwerke AG and Siemens-Reiniger Werke AG will be merged into Siemens AG.

The AEG trust has incorporated the Telefunken AG, which was already part of its influence sphere and will operate from 1 January 1967 as Allgemeine Elektrizitäts-Gesellschaft AEG-Telefunken.

The two giant electrical trusts, Siemens and Bosch, decided upon close cooperation to begin with in the field of household goods as well as radio and television sets—and established a joint company with approximately 28,000 employees and a total turnover of 1.5 thousand million marks.

The Daimler-Benz AG (Flick trust and Volkswagenwerk AG) have established the Deutsche Automobil GmbH "as a permanent organization for cooperation between the two companies in all fields of mutual interest". (*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, Munich, 26 August 1966)

The extraordinary concentration and the further growth of the monopolies' economic power must intensify their pressure to expand still more.

Economic expansion, however, is the basis of external

aggression politically and the strengthening of reaction at home.

In the process of this monopolization the number of

powerful leaders of the state and economy and their representatives has constantly dwindled. The following powerful finance capitalists now tower over this circle.

Abs, Hermann Josef

Member of the board of directors and "spokesman" for the Deutsche Bank, the largest West German monopoly bank, chairman, vice-chairman or member of boards of directors in a large number of trusts

Flick, Dr. Friedrich

Head of the Flick trust, personally liable and managing partner of the Friedrich Flick KG, chairman or vice-chairman of the boards of directors of his own most important trust companies, such as Dynamit Nobel AG, Daimler-Benz AG and the Buderus'schen Eisenwerke, as well as member of the board of directors of the AEG

Hansen, Kurt

Chairman of the managing committee of Farbenfabriken Bayer AG (IG-Farben group), member of the boards of directors, among others, of the Deutsche Bank AG, the Rheinische Stahlwerke and the Siemens trust

Henle, Günther

Head of the Klöckner trust, chairman of the board of directors of the Klöckner Werke AG, as well as member of the boards of directors, of the Deutsche Bank AG and the Siemens trust, among others

Krupp von Bohlen und Halbach, Alfried

Head of the Krupp trust and owner of the Firma Friedr. Krupp, Essen, member of the board of directors of the Dresdner Bank AG

Nordhoff, Heinrich

Chairman of the managing committee of Volkswagenwerk AG, member of boards of directors, among others, of the Dresdner Bank AG, August-Thyssen-Hütte AG

Siemens, Ernst von

Head of the Siemens trust, chairman of the board of directors of the Siemens trust, vice-chairman of the board of directors of Osram GmbH, member of the board of directors of Klöckner-Humboldt-Deutz AG

Sohl, Hans-Günther

Chairman of the managing committee of August-Thyssen Hütte AG, chairman of the board of directors of the Deutsche Edelstahlwerke AG, member of the board of directors of DEMAG AG

Springer, Axel Cäsar

Owner of the largest and most reactionary press monopoly of West Germany, the Axel-Springer-Verlags-GmbH

Winnacker, Prof. Dr. Ing. Karl

Chairman of the managing committee of the Farbwerke Hoechst AG (IG-Farben), chairman of the board of directors of the Ruhrchemie AG and Wacker-Chemie-GmbH, vice-chairman of the board of directors of the Dresdner Bank AG

Along with these trust tycoons, the following also have a significant direct influence as representatives of monopoly interests:

Berg, Fritz

(President of the Federal Association of German Industry, chairman of the board of directors of the Industriekreditbank AG)

Balke, Siegfried

(President of the Federal Association of German Employers' Associations, belongs to the IG-Farben sphere of influence)

Schneider, Ernst Georg

(President of the German Industrial and Commercial Association, the top organization of the chambers of industry and trade) as well as

Blessing, Karl

(President of the West German Federal bank)

The rulers of the West German economy are at the same time also the rulers of the Bonn state. Politicians like Franz-Josef Strauss, Kurt Georg Kiesinger, Rainer Barzel, Eugen Gerstenmaier, Gerhard Schröder, Kai-Uwe von Hassel, Paul Lücke and others are their political executive aides.

The profiteers of West Germany today have connections, which in number and extent far exceed anything German imperialism could ever muster in the way of comparable capital alliances. Qualitatively also the pre-

sent wave of West German monopolization of the economy has new features: the Bonn government has finally thrown overboard all "neo-liberal ballast"—monopolization has ceased to proceed on the quiet; concentration is no longer sponsored by the state clandestinely. With financial aid from the government and state enterprises thrown in as a dowry, Bonn facilitates new trust formations; concentration and centralization of capital have today become attributes and the avowed aim of state monopoly policy.

Never before was the interplay between monopoly expansion, a reactionary home policy and an aggressive foreign policy so clearly discernible. The monopolies reorganize and demand the same of their government. The call for "the strong man" was first voiced from the big economic circles which secured for a Strauss, as spokesman of all right-wing extremist forces, the take-over of key positions to make political decisions and made possible the break-through for his political conception. The big economic circles are also responsible for the birth of the plan of the "Great Coalition" and finally they also formulated the task of the government: absolute centralization of all economic, political and other social potentials in the hands of the financial bourgeoisie, safeguarded by a speeded-up transition to authoritarian forms of political rule.

The way out of the chronic crisis of two decades of West German monopoly policy, which has now reached the stage of open outbreak, is envisaged by big capital in the "formation" of the entire West German society. Economic concentration, a state monopoly centralization orienting the whole power apparatus sharply to the right and the shooting-up of neo-nazism condition and complement each other.

THE ARMAMENTS BUSINESS—FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE MULTI-MILLIONAIRES

The Budget in the Service of Militarism

The restoration of imperialism in West Germany was synchronized with the resurrection of militarism. According to the set aggressive political aims of the West German imperialists all areas of social life in West Germany, but in the first instance the economy, were incorporated in the plans for war and conquest.

Our prognoses have been confirmed: the unbridled rearmament plans have systematically wrought ruin with the finances of the West German Federal Republic. More than

210 thousand million marks

have been wasted by the Bonn regime in attempts to still try to win the lost Hitler war, attempts which are as senseless as they are dangerous.

Every West German wage-earner had to earn some 7,500 marks by the end of 1966 for Bonn to spend on missiles, tanks, soldiers, in short, for war preparations.

The results of CDU/CSU rule in West Germany, as a representation of the interests of the financial oligarchy and its militarists, are that this state has already wasted far more on planning and preparing warfare than Hitler Germany squandered on the preparation of the Second World War (up to 1939 some 90 thousand million Reichmarks), so that this state for some time even heads the list in the development of direct armaments expenditure in comparison with the four biggest allies in NATO.

Increase in Direct, Officially Recorded Armaments Expenditure 1960–1964

West Germany	+ 73 %
France	+ 24 %
England	+ 23 %
USA	+ 20 %
NATO (total)	+ 24 %

(according to *DWI Berichte*, Berlin, 1965, No. 16, p. 13)

Effective and Planned Armaments Expenditure in West Germany)*

Fiscal Year	Armaments expenditure total in million marks	share for Bundeswehr in per cent	Financial share of the Bundeswehr in per cent
1955	6,956	95.4	1
1958**)	10,033	7,974.2	80
1965	20,085	17,000.0	85
1966	20,816	17,500.0	84
1967	20,700	19,000.0	92

*) According to *Finanzbericht* 1966, published by the Federal Ministry of Finance, Bonn, pp. 406–409

From 1950–1965 real expenditure figures; 1966–1967 estimates

***) Bonn Bundestag decides on atomic armament

Bonn's economic policy has always been subject to the requirements of its armaments policy. In previous years the rapid rise in direct armaments expenditure presented a hazard for the stability of the West German economy and gave rise to inflationary tendencies. The armament monopolists and their Bundeswehr generals were and are the sole beneficiaries of this policy of desperate gamble—as is clearly indicated by the figures of the official statement in the Bonn survey given above.

Bonn invests thirty per cent of the Bonn budget or the entire federal expenditure in the militarization of West Germany. According to its "intermediate term plan" for 1966 to 1970 the Erhard government had envisaged a further 150 thousand million marks for the Bundeswehr, which in the first instance is directed against the GDR, and generally against the entire socialist camp, with which it is allied. To illustrate this, here is a quotation from the speech of a former officer of the fascist Wehrmacht and present day CDU budget expert Albert Leicht, during the budget debate in the Bonn Bundestag: "With regard to already begun or nearly completed plans for the reequipment of our armed forces and taking into consideration further increases in costs for personnel and the maintenance of materials, a further cut in defence expenditure in the coming years cannot

be contemplated. On the contrary, a preview for the year 1967 already indicates that the planned fund allocation for individual plan 14 will have to be stepped up in the coming year, if only to enable us to fulfil our international obligations and to maintain the demand for "forward defence". (German Bundestag, fifth electoral period—25th session, Bonn, 3 March 1966, p. 133)

The militarization carried out with such exaggeration and the forced pace of rearming have considerably increased the political and economic difficulties. These tremendous difficulties at the close of 1966 brought about the inglorious fall of Ludwig Erhard, who had for many years been the declared "creator of the economic miracle" and the "wizard of finance". Erhard left, but the demands of his backers in the monopolies and trusts remained. Therefore the former old-time Nazi, Kurt Georg Kiesinger, whom the monopolies jockeyed into the position of CDU chancellor, hastened to declare on behalf of his new cabinet:

"Defence expenditures must also be adapted to the financial position of the Federation. The defence budget, however, is not to be looked upon as a reserve fund for the rectification of the budget muddle of previous years." (*Bulletin des Presse- und Informationsamtes der Bundesregierung*, 14 December 1966, p. 1267)

According to advance estimates up to 1970, already released in 1966, military expenditures, as far as can be seen from the budget, will be increased up to then to about 25.5 thousand million marks a year (Cf. *Finanzberichte des Bundesministeriums der Finanzen für 1966 und 1967*, Bonn)

The manner in which Chancellor Kiesinger, true to his government program, has manipulated with apparent budget cuts for armaments expenditure in the 1967 federal budget is typical. At first the military expenditure was increased by some 1.4 thousand million marks as compared with 1966, after which there was a total "cut" amounting to 470 million marks. It must be noted, however, that the thus derived estimate of the military expenditure total for 1967 of over 20 thousand million marks after allowance has been made for the "cut" is in no way authentic. So far no official publication of the now finalized submission of estimate figures has been forthcoming. Therefore, there is a distinct possibility that in 1967 even these minor "cuts", made for propaganda reasons, will be revoked.

But more. War minister Gerhard Schröder is, as yet, far from being satisfied with his military budget. Only on 1 February 1967 he declared before the so-called defence commission of the Bundestag that this year all efforts are being made to continue the modernization of the armed forces and its equipment with a greater fire power and unchanged numerical strength. The strained budget in his domain could be slightly alleviated with an *additional subsidy* from the emergency fund of the federal government. According to Schröder, in the air force alone, financial resources are so scant that not even the most important orders for the acquisition of

planes can be safeguarded. Decisions on restructuring the air force, however, are scheduled to be made only after delivery of the "Starfighter" series has been completed. The West German aircraft industry, according to Schröder, depends on further orders from the Bundeswehr, which particularly applies from the year 1968. (Cf. *Die Welt*, West Berlin, 3 February 1967) Since then war minister Schröder has assured the West German aircraft and rocket industry of his full support.

All that, however, is still not all. The Hitler Wehrmacht gunnery officer and present CDU Federal Minister of Internal Affairs, Paul Lücke wants to get the "emergency laws" whipped through the Bonn Bundestag as quickly as possible. If he succeeds, there will, as a result, once more be an enormous increase in West German expenditures. The financial expert Prof. Dr. rer. pol. Bacc. jur. Ernst Kaemmel stated his opinion in connection with a report made by the European "Economic Research" Work Group (Prognos AG) in Basle on behalf of the Association of West German Scientists, Reg.:

"According to this, based on minimum estimates, annual total costs for the Bonn emergency legislation would amount to 9.9 to 13 thousand million marks, distributed as follows:

Self defence law	1,068 million marks
Law to safeguard the economy	80 million marks
Law to safeguard transport	150 million marks
Law to safeguard food supplies	1,205 million marks
Law to safeguard water	358 million marks
Shelter construction law	6,200 million marks
Law to regulate domicile	40 million marks
Home guard/civil defence service law	285 million marks
Civilian service law	120 million marks
Continuation of existing emergency regulations	400 million marks
	<hr/> 9,906 million marks

Prognos AG adds that in view of the diminishing purchasing power of the mark by an average of 600 million marks a year which is to be expected in the near future, and because of an increased commitment arising from the shelter construction law by some 2.66 thousand million marks a year, a total expenditure of about 13 thousand million marks must be anticipated. These expenditures will recur every year. The single items are estimated on the basis of 5 to 10 year periods, so that in the next decade the West German people would pay total expenditures of between 50 and 100 thousand million marks. (*Mitteilungsblatt der Arbeitsgemeinschaft ehemaliger Offiziere*, Berlin, 1966, No. 2, p. 5)

The West German paper of the monopoly bourgeoisie, *Die Welt*, on 27 January 1967 also announced new

financial sacrifices for federal citizens and armament profits for the monopolies:

"The last word about this year's—actual—military budget, of course, in reality has *not* yet been *uttered* . . . On the Hardthöhe (seat of the Bonn war ministry—editor), one still hopes for another *financial subsidy* (emphasis by editor)."

War Dance Around the Golden Calf

The Bundeswehr spends annually no less than 60 per cent of its entire budget allocation for the purchase and import of modern weapons, above all to procure atomic weapon carriers for the army, navy and air force.

The Federal Office for Defence Technology and Purchases in Coblenz alone placed armaments orders up to 1965 amounting to *35 thousand million marks*. According to *Die Welt*, Hamburg, 20 October 1965, of these *68.5 per cent* were taken up by the West German armaments trusts and enterprises and *31.5 per cent* were distributed between the foreign armaments monopolies.

Thus the Bundeswehr has developed into the largest customer in West Germany and at the same time become the financially strongest armaments buyer in the capitalist part of Europe.

The economy of the Federal Republic over the past years has been developed in such a way that the West German imperialists are in a position to produce the entire armaments stock required themselves, conventional as well as nuclear weapons. If so far they have nevertheless limited themselves to the manufacture of certain types of conventional weapons and equipment and have not yet dared openly to break the last restriction imposed upon them at the time of their entry into NATO, the reason is not to be sought in a "voluntary renunciation", but rather in the resistance of other nations and even by the ruling circles of other NATO countries. Since the middle of 1966 the insistent demands of the West German trust magnates for increased participation in the armaments production are becoming increasingly accentuated.

Former Bonn war minister von Hassel described the nationalist strategy and the increase in various stages of the West German rearmament as follows:

"In the material field our rearmament was effected in four phases: Nash-commitment, an armaments aid from the US of four thousand million marks;

acquisition of armament equipment (i.e., typically military equipment) effected mainly from allies abroad;

extensive copy manufacture of foreign armament equipment by the relevant branches of industry. Here the aircraft and electrical industries can be mentioned especially.

"Utilization of our *own* research and development in the field of military technology, which had been built

up in the meantime in cooperation with our NATO allies for joint and also our own production of new weapon systems." (K. U. von Hassel, "Wissenschaft—Wehrtechnik—Wehrpolitik" in "Jahrbuch der Wehrtechnik", Darmstadt, 1966, p. 11)

The extent of West German armament purchases and the share of imports can be approximately assessed, despite top secrecy, by comparing the position "one time expenditures" of the federal budget, plan 14 and the indexed item in the West German import statistics: "Goods registered for the West German Federal Government" in million marks:

Year	"One-time expenditures" (Armament purchases)	"Goods registered for the West German Federal Government" (Armament imports)
1960	3,364	1,235
1961	4,413	1,212
1962	7,795	1,989
1963	9,497	3,763
1964	9,279	2,304
1965	7,774	3,590
1966	6,283 (plan)	some 2,400

The above expenditures for "goods registered for the federal government" obviously do not comprise all armament imports, especially not the ones over the first years of the establishment of the Bundeswehr, particularly the deliveries of the USA for "initial equipment" of the Bundeswehr.

The Bundeswehr or the West German armaments monopolies, however, were by no means satisfied with these huge orders.

Selected and especially instructed West German technicians, development engineers and Bundeswehr experts have for years made full use, particularly of NATO-bodies and working commissions, to get to know and use the "know-how" of the peak achievements of the most modern armaments projects and weapons systems of *all* NATO partners for the speeded up armaments production of the Federal Republic.

The following NATO working staffs with West German participation are given below as an example:

Since 1958

Standing Armaments Committee of the WEU
five sub-committees for joint research, development and production of weapons and armament equipment, set up on the basis of an agreement between West Germany, France and Italy on 21 January 1958

"St. Louis" German-French Research Institute
Steering Committee for the organization of military economic cooperation, West Germany—Great Britain

Since 1959

Armaments Committee of NATO

Science Committee of NATO

Production, Logistics and Infrastructure Department of the International Secretariat of NATO

Research Committee attached to the Military Committee of NATO

Committee for Development attached to the Military Committee of NATO

Military Office for Standardization of NATO

"Hawk organization" for serial production of ground-to-air missiles

"Sidewinder organization" for serial production of air-to-air missiles

"Breguet Atlantic" Commission for the Development and Manufacture of Special Aircraft for the Navy

"Committee for European Space Coordination (CEAC)" (military signalling and signalling reconnaissance systems)

Advisory Group for Space Research and Development (AGARD) for the Design and Testing of Military Aircraft, Missile, Guided Missile and Cosmic Technology

Since 1960

The "Technical Centre of the Supreme Command of the Allied Forces in Europe (Shape Technical Centre)" for the scientific-technical coordinated development of weapon systems for nuclear warfare.

Since 1961

"F 104 G-Starfighter Organization" for the coproduction of nuclear carriers.

And since 1962

Research Centre for Underwater Warfare of the Commander-in-Chief of the Allied High Command Atlantic (SACLANT).

The primary aim underlying the extensive West German cooperation in this and other armament coordination authorities of the NATO countries was indicated recently by a leading West German military journal which stated that "the (West) German economy acquires the 'know-how' by the production of technically highly developed weapon systems and this together with their own efforts in research and development will make it a partner of our western allies". ("Wehrkunde", Munich, 1965, No.12, p. 632)

Everybody can see for himself that the West German participation is exploited especially to equal or even surpass the NATO partners in armament competition.

Demands in this connection, camouflaged with a national label have become increasingly audible since 1962. The weekly paper *Der Volkswirt* published in Frankfurt-on-Main as the organ of the West German monopolies announced already in February 1962:

"No more tanks and guns! This post-war phrase has long since lost its validity. On the contrary, armament orders are courted and desired nowadays and cannot be considered suspect. This change in the situation not only includes the supply of underwear, uniforms and so-called 'soft gear', considerable production initiative has long been displayed in the Federal Republic in the field of 'hard' armament material, too."

General manager Düren of the (West) "German Industrial and Commercial Association" activated this campaign for armament autarchy according to the example of Hitler Germany:

"The German Industrial and Commercial Association considers it necessary to make the German armed forces independent of supplies from overseas as far as possible. It is thus necessary to equip the Bundeswehr with equipment, vehicles and small arms from our own production including those which up to now have not been produced on the territory of the Federal Republic." (*Handelsblatt*, Düsseldorf, 24-25 January 1964)

Encouraged by the development of the crisis in the Bonn state part of the monopolies is increasingly resisting the purchase of war material from western countries, especially from the USA.

As late as the middle of 1965 the Erhard government concluded a treaty with the USA providing for the purchase of weapons and military equipment by West Germany in the USA to the tune of not less than 5.4 thousand million marks. By the end of 1966 the Bonn war ministry, however, had realized purchases for only 900 million marks.

The arsenals of the Bundeswehr are already crammed with conventional weapons! Nevertheless and regardless of the already far-reaching disorder of the West German state finances it was one of the first acts of the Kiesinger/Strauss cabinet to transfer more than 2.8 thousand million marks to the US armament account in the last weeks of 1966, thus maintaining the time limit.

Loud complaints could be heard in West Germany in autumn 1966 that armament materials are being purchased to an extent which robs West Germany of any possibility "of making a contribution to the development of an independent European armament industry and technology". (*Stuttgarter Zeitung*, 22 September 1966)

Franz-Josef Strauss joined the discussion though still somewhat camouflaged as a "(West) European":

"By spending about three-quarters of our investment funds set aside in the defence budget for armament purchases in America alone we withdraw these means from the construction of a European armament industry and the large-scale research and technical development connected with it." ("Entwurf für Europa", Stuttgart, 1966, p. 129)

When Strauss took over the Finance Ministry at the

end of 1966 the Bonn Federal Association of German Industry (BDI) stated his demands more explicitly:

"The Bundeswehr is the strongest conventional armed force in Europe today. German industry has played a considerable part in the material equipment of these forces and it will without doubt... play a still more important role... Therefore, in the next years... resources will again be required to an extent that was formerly known only in the first phase of the formation of the Bundeswehr..."

"The BDI always favoured a balanced relation between home and foreign purchases... We are glad to be able to state in this connection that the *negative attitude towards even an only limited construction of specific German armaments capacities is diminishing*—(emphasis by the editor) because it is recognized that by the development and production of technically highly developed weapon systems our industry acquires the know-how necessary for its international competitiveness." ("Jahresbericht des Bundesverbandes der Deutschen Industrie 1966", p. 183)

"Last not least, arms and equipment for a new defence planning ought to be producible to a large extent in the country itself or also in joint development in a European production." ("Wehr und Wirtschaft", Munich, 1967, No. 1)

The West German armament production shall now be considerably increased and assisted with all means by the state in order to overtake the armament level of the NATO partners and to partake to a still higher degree in the excessively high armament profits made possible by the high uncontrollable prices and the complicated production of modern weapon systems.

The costs of this increased armament production is to be loaded onto the citizens of the Federal Republic who are already hard hit by the economic difficulties of West Germany.

West German imperialism has changed its coat economically so much and has increased its armament expenditure to such a degree that it desires to stand on the same footing with the nuclear powers Great Britain and France and it even demands atomic "equality". West German imperialism no longer wants to be a "second class" imperialism!

The combination of its own armament efforts, armament imports and armament integration is to West German imperialism no arbitrary variant but the attempt to bring about the optimum advancement of its own plans under the given conditions. The armament integration was to serve the purpose of reducing and overcoming the 10 years set-back in military technology as compared with the leading international armament trusts in the shortest period. German imperialism used the progressing internationalization of economic life to camouflage its military-political intentions. For their own reassurance, the governing circles of the other

NATO countries claimed at first that the integration would in practice put West Germany "under control". Based on this argument especially the American imperialists forced the further reduction of armament limitations on the Bonn state.

In addition to this, the Springer trust publicly ridiculed the deceived NATO partners:

"Some people in America are cross.

"Why? They are afraid Bonn could carry on mutual research (in the fields of nuclear, aviation and space research—editor) with other nations in the same situation... Our government must remain hard..." (*Bild-Zeitung*, West Berlin, 4 February 1967)

But there is now hardly one trust from the top group of West German monopolies which is not included in the armament production for the Bundeswehr. In the last years this development has repeatedly led to mergers and centralizations which are exclusively conditioned by the economics of the armament industry.

With the participation of the West German Flick, Krupp and Thyssen trusts and the US armament monopolies Boeing and United Aircraft almost the entire West German aircraft industry has been merged into two large enterprises.

The BMW Motorenbau GmbH and MAN-Turbomotorenbau GmbH engine manufacturers were brought under the sole control of the Haniel concern.

The Henschel-Werke AG was affiliated to the Rhein Stahl-Hanomag AG and thus the main manufacturers of the West German armoured car program were united.

The following West German monopolies and trust groups secured for themselves especially voluminous armament orders:

All enterprises of the West German aircraft industry, among them the Messerschmitt AG, the Hamburger Flugzeugbau GmbH, the Vereinigten Flugtechnischen Werke GmbH and the Dornier-Werke GmbH.

Allgemeine Elektrizitäts-Gesellschaft AEG—Telefunken AG

Blohm und Voss AG (Thyssen trust)

Daimler-Benz AG (Flick trust)

Henschel-Werke AG (Rhein Stahl trust)

Kieler Howaldtwerke AG

Klößner-Humboldt-Deutz AG (Klößner trust)

Krauss-Maffei AG (Flick trust)

Rheinmetall GmbH (Röchling trust)

Rhein Stahl-Hanomag AG and

Siemens AG.

West Germany's way to becoming the second important industrial country of the imperialist states led the powerful monopolies in a synchronized manner to an immense profit expansion. It is typical of this development that the profits of the trusts engaged in the armaments business show the largest increase.

Profits of selected joint-stock companies (AGs) of West German industry from 1958 to 1965

Year	Profits of all 50 AGs, in million marks	Index	of which: profits of 10 armament AGs* in million marks	Index	Share of the 10 AGs in total profits in per cent
1958	3,102.4	100.0	1,332.4	100.0	42.9
1959	4,443.5	143.2	1,889.9	141.8	42.5
1960	5,740.2	185.0	3,034.3	227.7	52.9
1961	6,174.3	199.0	3,074.9	230.8	49.8
1962	5,508.4	177.6	2,936.5	220.4	53.3
1963	5,713.8	184.2	2,884.2	216.5	50.5
1964	6,989.5	225.3	3,547.5	266.2	50.8
1965	7,057.3	227.5	3,597.4	270.0	51.0
1958 to 1965 of which 1958 to 1962 to 1965	44,729.4	—	22,297.1	—	49.8
1958 to 1961 to 1962 to 1965	19,460.4	100.0	9,331.5	100.0	47.9
1958 to 1965	25,269.0	129.8	12,965.6	138.9	51.3

Calculated from Deutsches Wirtschaftsinstitut, Berlin, *Berichte*, 24 December 1962 and No. 12, December 1966

* These 10 trusts of the 50 joint-stock companies investigated are engaged in the armament business to an especially high degree: Siemens & Halske AG, West Berlin/Munich; AEG Allgemeine Elektrizitätsgesellschaft, West Berlin/Frankfurt-on-Main; Daimler-Benz AG, Stuttgart (Flick trust); Klöckner-Humboldt-Deutz AG, Cologne; Maschinenfabrik Augsburg-Nürnberg AG (MAN), Augsburg, (Haniel trust); Farbenfabriken Bayer AG, Leverkusen (IG-Farben group); Farbwerke Hoechst AG vorm. Meister, Lucius & Brüning, Frankfurt-on-Main (IG-Farben); Badische Anilin- und Sodafabrik AG, Ludwigshafen (IG-Farben); Deutsche Gold- und Silber-Scheideanstalt vorm. Roessler (DEGUSSA), Frankfurt-on-Main (trust group DEGUSSA-Metallgesellschaft); Continental Gummiwerke AG, Hanover (Opel group).

The distribution of dividends for the armaments profiteers showed a tendency similar to the profits. They were

in 1960 between 12 and 18 per cent and

in 1965 between 16 and 20 per cent.

This is a clear indication that the large trusts engaged in the armaments business also have a big head start in front of the other investigated joint-stock companies so far as dividends are concerned.

Quite a number of other industrial enterprises in West Germany in which armament orders do not directly dominate but considerably influence the business results also made rapid progress. The production of the entire aircraft and missile industry is governed by armament orders to more than 90 per cent. In this branch, turn-over increased from 284 million marks in 1960 to 760 million marks in 1965. The Krauss-Maffei AG is a good example of the effect of Bundeswehr orders on business developments since it started the tank production program. Many of these companies, though not belonging to the top group of the West German giants of industry, play their part as special producers or armament centres within a trust and belong to the most important suppliers of weapons and implements or armament exporters.

Who Supplies What to the Bundeswehr?

The material on all the suppliers engaged in the West German militarization process could fill volumes even today. We want to list here only the supply program of more than

100 of the most important armament trusts and works of the Bonn state.

West German Enterprises Directly Engaged in Armament Production Machinery and Motor Vehicle Construction

Auto-Union GmbH, Ingolstadt (Volkswagenwerk AG)
Bayrische Motoren-Werke AG, Munich (Quandt group)

BMW-Triebwerksbau GmbH, Munich (Haniel trust)
Buderussche Eisenwerke, Wetzlar (Flick trust)
Büssing Automobilwerke AG, Braunschweig (Salzgitter trust)

motor vehicles
vehicle engines, all-fuel engines for the new Bundeswehr tank
aircraft and ship engines
tank bodies
lorries, special vehicles and sapper equipment

Daimler-Benz AG, Stuttgart (Flick trust)

Deutsche Waggon- und Maschinenfabriken GmbH,
West Berlin-Borsigwalde (Quandt group)

Diehl-KG, Remscheid (Diehl group)

Waffen- und Maschinenfabrik GmbH,
Erma-Werke Dachau

Faun-Werke Nuremberg, Kommunalfahrzeuge und
Lastkraftwagen

Karl Schmidt, Schnaittach

GEKA Gesellschaft für Kraftfahrzeuge mbH,
Hanover (Rheinstahl trust)

Hans Glas GmbH, Isaria Maschinenfabrik, Dingolfing

HATRA Alfred Hagelstein

Maschinenfabrik und Schiffswerft, Lübeck

Henschel-Werke AG, Kassel

(participation of the Morgan Guaranty Trust/USA)

Industrie-Werke Karlsruhe AG, Karlsruhe
(Quandt group)

Klöckner-Humboldt-Deutz AG, Cologne (Klöckner trust)

Krauss-Maffei AG, Munich (Flick trust)

Friedr. Krupp Maschinen- und Stahlbau Rheinhausen,
Rheinhausen/Niederrhein (Krupp trust)

Friedr. Krupp Motoren- und Kraftwagenfabriken, Essen

MAN-Turbomotoren GmbH, Munich (Haniel trust)

Maschinenfabrik Augsburg-Nürnberg AG (MAN),
Augsburg (Haniel trust)

Mauser-Werke AG, Oberndorf (Neckar),
(Quandt group)

Maybach-Motorenbau GmbH, Friedrichshafen
(Flick trust)

F. Porsche KG, Stuttgart-Zuffenhausen

Rheinmetall GmbH, Düsseldorf (Röchling trust)

Rheinstahl Hanomag AG, Hanover-Linden
(IG-Farben group)

Rheinstahl Hüttenwerk AG, Essen

(formerly Ruhrstahl AG/Rheinstahl trust)

J. P. Sauer & Sohn GmbH, Düsseldorf (Flick trust)

Zahnradfabrik Renk AG, Augsburg (Haniel trust)

vehicles, large diesel engines for the federal navy, tank
engines

amphibious vehicles

tank chains, tank engines

infantry arms, machines for production of weapons

small lorries and cross-country vehicles

established for the coordination of the gun pursuit tanks
production

special vehicles

sapper machines

motor vehicles, armoured cars, tanks

amphibious vehicles, ammunition

motor vehicles, armoured cars, aircraft engines, marine
diesel engines

tank assembling, general contractor for the series

production of the standard tank

reflector aerials for the NATO radar system, floating

dock for the federal navy (repair works)

engines and vehicles for the Bundeswehr

aircraft engines

motor vehicles, vehicle engines, marine diesel engines

small arms, ammunition, machines for ammunition
production

motor vehicles, large diesel engines for the federal navy

vehicle equipment and vehicle design

infantry weapons, guns

armoured cars, tanks, large repair shop for vehicles
of the Bundeswehr

special steels for the gun pursuit tank

infantry weapons

tank gears

Electrical Engineering, Fine Mechanics-Optics, Clock Industry

Allgemeine Elektrizitäts-Gesellschaft, AEG-Telefunken
Frankfurt-on-Main-West Berlin

Apparatebau Gauting GmbH, Gauting near Munich

Beckmann-Instruments GmbH,

Munich (Beckmann-Instruments Inc., Fullerton/USA)

Robert Bosch GmbH, Stuttgart

Diehl Luftfahrtgeräte, Gauting near Munich
(Diehl group)

Fa. Diehl, Nuremberg
(Diehl group)

electronics for the Starfighter, for other aircraft and
vehicles, airport equipment, remote signalling equip-
ment, rudder and steering equipment, radar systems for
war ships, missile parts

aircraft measuring instruments

aircraft and missile electronics

aircraft and missile electronics

aircraft measuring instruments

detonators, measuring instruments

Felten & Guillaume Fernmeldeanlagen GmbH,
Nuremberg (ARBED trust, Luxemburg)
Honeywell GmbH, Frankfurt-on-Main
(Minneapolis-Honeywell Regulators, USA)
Gebrüder Junghans AG, Schramberg, (Diehl group)
Kollmanns Luftfahrt-Instrumente GmbH, Munich
(Kollmanns Instrument Corp., Elmhurst, USA)
Lear-Siegler-GmbH, Munich
(Lear Siegler Inc., Santa Monica, USA)
Liebherr Aero-Technik GmbH, Lindenberg/Allgäu
Linhof, Nikolaus Karpf KG, Präzisions-Kamera-Werk,
Munich
Friedrich Merk Telefonbau, Munich
Optische Werke C. A. Steinheil Söhne GmbH, Munich
Osram GmbH, Munich/West Berlin
(Siemens, AEG and General Electric trust)
A. Pierburg Auto- und Luftfahrt-Gerätebau KG,
Neuss am Rhein
Radarleit GmbH, Hamburg (Philips trust)
Rathgeber & Co., Spezialfabrik für Transformatoren,
Kitzingen
Siemens AG, Munich

Standard Elektrik Lorenz AG, Stuttgart
(USA trust International Telephone & Telegraph,
Morgan group)
Teldix Luftfahrt-Ausrüstungs-GmbH,
Heidelberg-Wieblingen
(AEG trust and Bendix Corp., USA)
VALVO GmbH, Hamburg (Philips trust)
Carl Zeiss, Oberkochen/Württemberg

Aircraft and Missile Engineering

Arbeitsgemeinschaft Satellitenträgersystem (ASAT)
Bodenseewerk Perkin-Elmer & Co. GmbH, Überlingen
(The Perkin-Elmer Corp., Norwalk, USA)
Bölkow-Apparatebau GmbH, Nabern/Teck
(Bölkow group)
Bölkow GmbH, Ottobrunn near Munich (Bölkow group)

Dornier Reparaturwerft GmbH, Oberpfaffenhofen near
Munich
Dornier-System GmbH, Friedrichshafen
Dornier-Werke GmbH mit Dornier International GmbH,
Friedrichshafen/Munich

Entwicklungsring Nord (ERNO) GmbH
Entwicklungsring Süd GmbH (EWR)
Flugzeugunion Süd GmbH, Munich
Hamburger Flugzeugbau GmbH, Hamburg

Henschel Flugzeugwerke AG, Kassel
(division of Henschel-Werke AG)

remote signalling equipment

aircraft and missile electronics

aircraft measuring instruments, detonators
aircraft and missile electronics

aircraft and missile electronics

aircraft undercarriage hydraulics
aircraft cameras

remote signalling equipment
optical instruments
lighting equipment. search light, aircraft, vehicle and
signalling lamps
aircraft and vehicle drive elements

aircraft and radar electronics
supplies for the tank program

aircraft electronics, remote signalling equipment, radar
systems for war ships, missile parts, airport equipment
for the Bundeswehr
electronics for the Starfighter, remote signalling
equipment, radio systems for warships

aircraft electronics

aircraft and missile electronics
binoculars, optical instruments

missile and space navigation projects
air-to-air missiles (Sidewinder), aircraft engineering

sub-contractor for Bölkow

development work for the Starfighter, VTOL, missiles
and satellites
repairs on NATO planes

design of special constructions for Dornier (missiles)
participation in the Starfighter, Atlantic and Fiat G 91
program, production of the Do 27 and Do 28
Bundeswehr planes
military research, missile and satellite projects
military research, missile and satellite projects
participation in the Starfighter and Fiat G 91 program
participation in the Starfighter and Transall program,
own design HFB 320
repair of NATO planes

Interessengemeinschaft Luft- und Raumfahrt
Junkers Flugzeug- und Motorenwerke AG, Munich
(E. Heinkel-Flugzeugbau GmbH und Messerschmitt AG)
Merckle Flugzeugwerke GmbH, Bad Friedrichshall-
Oedheim
Messerschmitt AG, Augsburg
Siebelwerke ATG GmbH, Donauwörth (Bölkow group)

Vereinigte Flugtechnische Werke GmbH (VFW),
Bremen (formerly "Weser" Flugzeugbau, Bremen;
Focke-Wulf, Bremen; Heinkel-Flugzeugbau, Speyer)
Waggon- und Maschinenbau GmbH, Donauwörth

Shipbuilding Industry

Abeking & Rasmussen Yacht- und Bootswerft,
Lemwerde i. O.
Atlas-Werke AG, Bremen
Blohm & Voss AG, Hamburg (Thyssen trust)

Bremer Vulkan Schiffbau und Maschinenfabrik, Bremen
(Thyssen trust)
Flensburger Schiffbau-Gesellschaft, Flensburg
Kieler Howaldtwerke AG, Kiel

Krögerwerft GmbH, Rendsburg
Lübecker Flender-Werke AG, Lübeck
Fr. Lürssen Werft, Bremen
MaK Maschinenbau Kiel GmbH, Kiel (Atlas-Werke)
C. Plath KG, Fabrik nautischer Geräte, Hamburg
Rheinische Nordseewerke GmbH, Emden
(IG-Farben group)
Rolandwerft GmbH, Schiffs- und Yachtwerft, Bremen
Schlichting-Werft Schlichting & Co.,
Lübeck-Travemünde
Gebr. Schürenstedt KG, Schiffs- und Bootswerft,
Bardenfleth
H. C. Stülcken Sohn, Hamburg (Blohm & Voss AG)
Yacht- und Bootswerft Burmester, Bremen-Burg

Chemistry, Mineral Oil Industry

Badische Anilin- & Sodafabrik AG, BASF,
Ludwigshafen (IG-Farben group)
Dynamit Nobel AG, Troisdorf (Flick trust)

Esso AG, Hamburg (Rockefeller group, USA)
Farbenfabriken Bayer AG, Leverkusen
(IG-Farben group)
Farbwerke Hoechst AG, vorm. Meister,
Lucius & Brüning, Frankfurt-on-M. – Hoechst
(IG-Farben group)

military research, missiles and satellite projects
engines, "space interests"

Bundeswehr helicopters

participation in the Starfighter and Fiat G 91 program
participation in the Starfighter and Atlantic program,
production of Bölkow helicopters
military missile and satellite projects

participation in the Starfighter and Atlantic program,
production of Bölkow helicopters

fast minesweepers

torpedo interceptors
ships for the federal navy, participation in the tank
program
ships for the federal navy

ships for the federal navy
submarines, construction of a nuclear-power-driven
freighter, marine diesel engines
coast guard boats and E-boats
E-boats and submarine tenders
E-boats
diesel engines for the federal navy
nautical instruments for the federal navy
E-boats

torpedo interceptors
fast minesweepers, tenders

fast minesweepers

destroyers, convoy guard boats
coastal minesweepers

special and missile fuels for the Bundeswehr, chemical
warfare agents, explosives
compositions for missiles and petards, ammunition,
explosives
fuels, especially for jet aircraft
chemical warfare agents, synthetic materials for the
aircraft industry
ammunition

Nitrochemie GmbH, Aschau bei Krainburg/Inn
(Krupp trust and IVG)
Wasag-Chemie AG, Essen (Krupp trust)
Wefo Pyrotechnische Fabrik Wistedt

missile fuels

petards
ammunition

Other Spheres

Auergesellschaft GmbH, West Berlin
(Mine Safety Appliances Co., Pittsburg, USA)
Brüggemann & Brandt KG, Volmarstein/Ruhr
Drägerwerk, Heinr. & Bernh. Dräger, Lübeck

protective materials against atomic, bacterial and
chemical warfare
parachutes
protective equipment against atomic, bacterial and
chemical warfare, equipment for frogmen and mine
divers, protecting masks
holding company for government participations
(repair, transport enterprises)
ordnance equipment
parachutes, seat belts
hospital equipment

Industrieverwaltungsgesellschaft mbH, Bad Godesberg
(IVG)
Lange & Cossé, Remscheid
Sedlmayr GmbH & Co., Hamburg
Siemens-Reiniger-Werke AG, Erlangen (Siemens trust)

Nuclear engineering trusts

AEG-Telefunken
Brown, Boveri & Cie.
Degussa/Metallgesellschaft
DEMAG AG
Deutsche Babcock & Wilcox
Farbwerke Hoechst AG
Flick trust
Gesellschaft zur Wiederaufbereitung von Kernbrennstoffen mbH, Gutehoffnungshütte Sterkrade AG (Haniel trust)
Hochtief AG
Krupp trust
Mannesmann
Maschinenfabrik Augsburg-Nürnberg AG (Haniel trust)
Pintsch-Bamag
Rheinstahl AG
Siemens AG

HITLER'S WAR ECONOMY LEADERS IN COMMAND

Not Overcome for the Present!

Along with the material aspects of war preparation the aggressive forces of German imperialism also established in the armament trusts all personnel prerequisites. "Tested" persons guaranteeing the execution of the extensive militarization plans have long been placed in the state monopoly guidance and regulation apparatus. In the Federal Republic neo-nazism also shows itself in the fact that Hitler's highly decorated "war economy leaders" and other organizers of war crimes hold key positions in the West German economy.

In the Potsdam Agreement of 1945 the anti-Hitler coalition did not only ordain the "complete disarmament and demilitarization of Germany and the liquidation of the entire German industry which could be used for war production, or its supervision," as one of the aims of the occupation of Germany. This international agreement also clearly showed how the war criminals should be treated. Point 5 of the "Political Principles" contained in part III of the Potsdam Agreement provides: "War criminals and those who participated in the planning or execution of nazi measures which involved or resulted in cruelties or war crimes shall be arrested and handed over to the courts . . ." ("Dokumentation der Zeit", Berlin, 1950, No. 3, p. 119)

The rulers of the monopolies and their directors are

undoubtedly to be included in this circle of persons. They were the men

who, at first secretly because of the Versailles Treaty, then formally accepted by the German imperialists, prepared the construction of a war economy in fascist Germany,

who, only a little later, participated actively in the Aryanization of Jewish enterprises and other capital values,

who then usurped control of the economy of the temporarily occupied countries and areas and recruited there the cheap labour power of millions of workers or had them recruited by their SS stooges, whom they financed,

who acted as initiators and beneficiaries of the fascist "extermination through work" program.

After 1945 these representatives of monopoly capital who by their participation in armament and in the policy of aggression had accumulated profits of thousands of millions should be stripped of any possibility of further exercising power and influence. Point 6 of the "Political Principles" of the Potsdam Agreement therefore states:

"All members of the nazi party who participated more than nominally in its activities and all other persons who were hostile to the aims of the allies are to be removed from public or semi-public offices or from responsible positions in important private enterprises..." (Ibid., p. 120)

According to the letter of the Potsdam Agreement, there should be no economic leader in the Federal Republic and especially in the West German economy who filled a responsible position during the period of fascism, not to mention the persons sentenced as war criminals who were formerly distinguished as "war economy leaders" or decorated with high fascist orders. But just as the general provisions of the Potsdam Agreement were disregarded and violated on West German soil, the personnel policy took exactly an opposite turn to what was legally decided in 1945 by the main powers of the anti-Hitler coalition for the whole of Germany.

In the first post-war years one kept up the fiction; several hundred economic leaders were temporarily detained, some were even brought to court but the majority were sentenced to more symbolic and in relation to the crimes committed ridiculously short terms and finally prematurely released. Some others escaped the dock only because the originally scheduled actions were not conducted by the American and British occupation authorities. This applies, for instance, to the trial of the leading men of the monopoly banks, including the present head of the Deutsche Bank, Hermann Josef Abs.

In the first period after the war some West German politicians still preached with stentorian voice in favour of the prosecution of the war criminals. On 24 March 1946 Konrad Adenauer declared at the University of Cologne:

"We shall have to pay the greatest attention to the extirpation of the national socialist and militarist spirit in Germany. The active national socialists and the active militarists, those responsible for the war and its prolongation, also including especially some economy leaders, must be removed from their positions. They must... be punished by German courts, their property must be confiscated in whole or in part." ("Die unbewältigte Gegenwart—Eine Dokumentation über Rolle und Einfluss ehemals führender Nationalsozialisten in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland", Frankfurt-on-Main, 1962, p. 44)

A few years later one could hear quite other tones from Adenauer. In the meantime he had made his "dear Herr Globke", the co-author of the notorious racist "Nuremberg Laws", his confidant. In October 1952 he declared in the Bundestag:

"I think we should now finally stop sniffing for nazis because you can be sure that if we begin it nobody knows where it will stop." (*Die Neue Zeitung*, Frankfurt-on-Main, 24 October, 1952)

This remark was made at a time when all still living economic planners and preparers of the fascist aggressions as well as the war economy leaders of Hitler, Himmler and Göring were already holding office again.

A committee of the American Senate headed by Senator Harley M. Kilgore compiled in October 1945 a black list naming 42 war criminals from big industry. In this connection the committee came to the following conclusions:

"1. It is not true that the big German industrialists joined national socialism at the last moment and were in part compelled to do so. *They were its enthusiastic promoters from the very beginning.*

"2. *Seizure of power by the national socialists was only made possible with the support of the German heavy industries and high finance.*

"3. Conversion of the German economy to a war economy and to the feverish armament for the war of aggression was made under *direct guidance* of the German industrialists (emphasis by the editor)." (*Allgemeine Zeitung*, Berlin, 12 October 1945)

A few months later, on 20 December 1945, the Allied Control Council decreed law No. 10 concerned with the prosecution of war criminals. The official American list of war criminals in the economic field compiled on the basis of this law, contained the names of 72 persons. (Cf. Leading industrialists, financiers and economic figures in Nazi Germany who may be subject to prosecution under Control Council Law No. 10)

However, the number of fascist war economy leaders was considerably larger. This title had been conferred on approximately 600 leading monopolists, trust directors and industrialists who thereby became members of the "Wehrwirtschaftsrat" (Defence Economy Council). In addition there were in Hitler Germany at least as

many trust directors and industrialists who without the official title of a "war economy leader" were no less actively engaged in the organization and execution of the armaments and war plans and who took part in the plundering of the temporarily occupied countries. They include among others

- the directors of the monopoly banks
- the leaders of the organs of the fascist armament economy (of the "Main Committees" and "Main Rings") and
- the members of the "Circle of Friends of the Reichsführer SS".

Abs, Hermann Josef

today: (Among others) member of the board of the Deutsche Bank (as "spokesman of the board" Abs is the dominating member of the board), chairman or deputy chairman of the board of directors of various industrial enterprises and banks, adviser and plenipotentiary to the federal government in various matters, bearer of the Bonn "Great Distinguished Service Cross with Star and Shoulder Ribbon", knight of the "Order of the Holy Grave" (an order of the Roman Catholic Church)

before 1945: (Among others) member of the board of the Deutsche Bank, chairman or deputy chairman of the board of directors of various industrial enterprises and banks, member of the "Russia Committee of German Industry", president of the German-Roumanian Chamber of Commerce, in 1945 was on the official American list of war criminals in the economic field, in 1945 sentenced in absentia in Yugoslavia to 15 years at hard labour

Ambros, Dr. Otto

today: (Among others) deputy chairman of the board of directors of the Süddeutsche Kalkstickstoff-Werke AG, Trostberg, member of the board of directors of the Scholven-Chemie AG, Gelsenkirchen, and of the Hibernia AG, Herne

before 1945: (Among others) member of the board of the IG-Farbenindustrie AG, war economy leader of Hitler Germany, sentenced by the American Military Tribunal in Nuremberg to eight years in prison

Bütetisch, Dr. Heinrich

today: Chairman of the board of directors of the Kohle-Öl-Chemie GmbH, Gelsenkirchen, decorated with the "Great Distinguished Service Cross" (this decoration had to be withdrawn by concentration camp builder and Bonn President Lübke after protests from the public)

before 1945: (Among others) member of the board of the IG-Farbenindustrie AG, Frankfurt-on-Main, war economy leader of Hitler Germany, member of the "Circle of Friends of the Reichsführer SS", in 1945 was

From A (like Abs) to Z (like Zangen)

As can be seen from the following selective list of monopolists and trust directors, most of these war criminals, as far as they are still alive, occupy important key positions in the West German economy. The list contains only a few of the well-known names but just these few are among those who by their own war crimes or those committed under their direction burdened themselves with an impriscriptible guilt. In spite of their criminal career many of them have been provocatively decorated by the Bonn federal president with high and the highest federal state honours.

on the official American list of war criminals in the economic field, sentenced by the American Military Tribunal in Nuremberg to six years in prison, bearer of the "Knights Cross to the Distinguished Service Cross"

Dürrfeld, Dr.-Ing. Walter

today: Member of the board of directors of the Hibernia-Chemie GmbH, Wanne-Eickel

before 1945: (Among others) director in the IG-Farbenindustrie AG, Frankfurt-on-Main, sentenced by the American Military Tribunal in Nuremberg to eight years in prison

Flick, Friedrich

today: (Among others) head of the Flick trust, bearer of the Bonn "Great Distinguished Service Cross with Star and Shoulder Ribbon"

before 1945: (Among others) head of the Flick trust, chairman or deputy chairman of the board of directors of various other enterprises, war economy leader of Hitler Germany, member of the "Circle of Friends of the Reichsführer SS", in 1945 was on the black list of the Kilgore committee, sentenced by the American Military Tribunal in Nuremberg to seven years in prison

Krauch, Prof. Dr. Karl

today: Member of the board of directors of the Buna-Werke GmbH, Marl

before 1945: (Among others) chairman of the board of directors of the IG-Farbenindustrie AG, president of the Reich office of economy construction, plenipotentiary for special questions of chemical production, bearer of the "Knights Cross to the Distinguished Service Cross", in 1945 was on the black list of the Kilgore committee, sentenced by the American Military Tribunal in Nuremberg to six years in prison

Krupp von Bohlen und Halbach, Alfried

today: (Among others) head of the Krupp trust, member of the board of directors in various enterprises

before 1945: (Among others) junior head of the Krupp

trust, war economy leader, in 1945 was on the black list of the Kilgore committee, sentenced by the American Military Tribunal in Nuremberg to 12 years in prison

Küppenbender, Dr.-Ing. Heinrich

today: (Among others) member of the board of Carl Zeiss, Oberkochen, member of the board of directors of Robert Bosch GmbH, Stuttgart, bearer of the Bonn "Great Distinguished Service Cross"

before 1945: (Among others) member of the board of Carl Zeiss, Jena, head of the fascist main committee on fine mechanics and optics, war economy leader.

Messerschmitt, Prof. Dr. Willy

today: (Among others) deputy chairman of the board of directors of the Messerschmitt AG, Augsburg

before 1945: (Among others) member of the board of the Messerschmitt AG, Augsburg, war economy leader of Hitler Germany, in 1945 was on the official list of war criminals in the economic field

Reusch, Dr. Hermann

today: (Among others) member of the presidium of the Bundesverband der Deutschen Industrie, chairman or member of the boards of directors of various enterprises, bearer of the Bonn "Great Distinguished Service Cross with Star"

before 1945: (Among others) member of the board of the Gutehoffnungshütte Aktienverein für Bergbau und Hüttenbetrieb, Nuremberg, took part in the plunder of the Yugoslav and Greek economies

Rohland, Dr. Walter

today: (Among others) deputy chairman of the board of directors of the Niederrheinische Hütte AG, Duisburg, member of the board of directors of the Phoenix-Rheinrohr AG, Düsseldorf

before 1945: (Among others) member of the board of the Vereinigte Stahlwerke AG, Düsseldorf, head of the main committee for tanks, executive chairman of the Industrial Council of the High Command of the Army, war economy leader, bearer of the "Knights Cross to the Distinguished Service Cross"

Siemens, Dr. Hermann von

today: Member of the board of directors of the Siemens AG, Munich/West Berlin, bearer of the Bonn "Great Distinguished Service Cross with Star and Shoulder Ribbon"

before 1945: (Among others) chairman of the board of directors of the Siemens & Halske AG, Berlin (head of the Siemens trust from 1941 to 1956), in 1945 was on the official American list of war criminals in the economic field

Vits, Dr. Ernst Hellmut

today: (Among others) chairman of the board of the Vereinigte Glanzstoff-Fabriken AG, Wuppertal, bearer of the Bonn "Great Distinguished Service Cross with Star"

before 1945: (Among others) chairman of the board of the Vereinigte Glanzstoff-Fabriken AG, Wuppertal, war economy leader of Hitler Germany

Wurster, Prof. Dr. Carl

today: Chairman of the board of directors of the Badische Anilin- und Soda-Fabrik AG, Ludwigshafen (IG-Farben successor company), bearer of the Bonn "Great Distinguished Service Cross with Star"

before 1945: Managing director in the IG-Farben-industrie AG, member of the board of directors of the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Schädlingsbekämpfung (DEGESCH) mbH, Frankfurt-on-Main (production of "Zyklon B" for the concentration camp gas chambers), defendant in the IG-Farben case before the American Military Tribunal in Nuremberg

Zangen, Dr. Wilhelm

today: (Among others) chairman of the board of directors of the Schiess AG, Düsseldorf, member of the board of directors of the Demag AG, Duisburg, bearer of the Bonn "Great Distinguished Service Cross with Star"

before 1945: (Among others) chairman of the board of directors of the Mannesmannröhren-Werke, Düsseldorf, head of the fascist Reich group industry, head of the main committee Wehrmacht and general equipment, in 1945 was on the black list of the Kilgore committee and on the official American list of war criminals in the economic field

Strauss, the Strong Man of the Monopolies

The West German monopoly magnates put great importance on the fact that the positions in the Federal Ministries of Finance and Economics and in the Federal Bank were filled with persons who were absolutely reliable in their sense. The command over the giant financial, monetary and economic policy guidance ap-

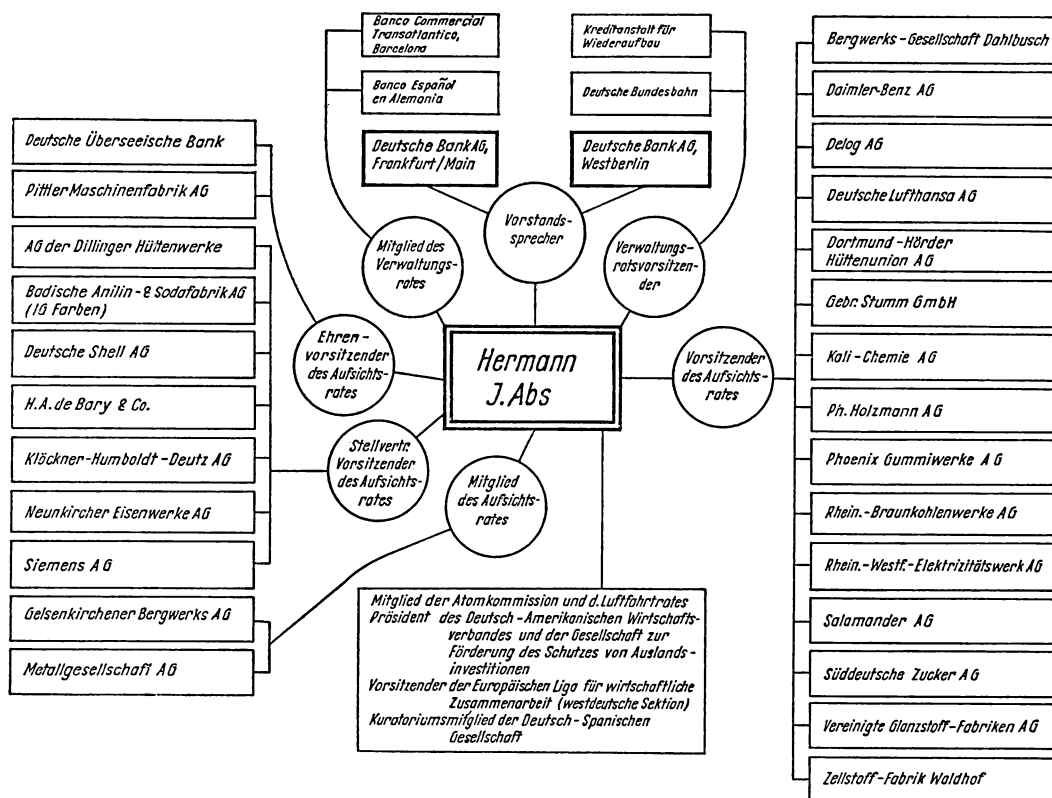
paratus created by the monopoly bourgeoisie is considered by them as a question of prime importance.

It is thus no accident that Franz-Josef Strauss appeared on the federal stage again at the end of 1966 as the outcome of the call for the "strong man", the man who, in his own words, concentrates solely on the "red case".

When Erhard did not meet the expectations of West German monopoly capital Strauss stirred up the crisis

Banker Hermann Abs is one of the most important representatives of West German monopoly capital. His influence extends to the largest banks, the most important undertakings of the raw materials industry up to the sugar and cellulose industry (see diagram). In addition, he is a member of such important bodies as the West German Atomic Commission

and the Aviation Council. Abs was a member of the board of directors of the Deutsche Bank already under Hitler. His name was on the American list of war criminals, and he was sentenced to 15 years at hard labour in absentia by a Yugoslav court.



of the Erhard government with the support of the Bavarian CSU. With this activity he again offered himself as an active and effective solicitor of the interests of the monopoly bourgeoisie. The big bourgeois *Industriekurier* confirmed Strauss on 10 November 1966:

"It is a fact that the still young economics politician Strauss is considered the 'strong man' from Abs to Beitz, in the big banks and in heavy industry, the man who could solve our economic problems."

To the industry and bank magnates Strauss is today what Hitler was to them in 1933. And with regard to his program, the "strong man" of 1966 also accepted an appropriate loan from his predecessor.

Hitler, in his ill-famed speech to the Düsseldorf industrial club, said on 27 January 1932:

"If we want to maintain our export economy, if we want to establish a new home market, if we want to solve the space problem—we shall always require the concentrated political force of the nation." (Cited from M. Domarus, Hitler, "Reden und Proklamationen 1932–1945", Süddeutscher Verlag, Munich, 1965, Vol. I, p. 85)

Strauss says it this way:

"For the most frictionless possible treatment of the economic growth difficulties... a clear conception and strong political authority are required." (*Bayern-Kurier*, Munich, 8 October 1966)

"Economic strength is only transformed into political strength if a determined policy combines economic strength and political strength in such a way that the one corresponds to the other." (German Bundestag, fifth electoral period, 8th session, Bonn, 30 November 1965, p. 204)

Hitler told the German industrial magnates:

"The way of our internal activities determines our successes in foreign policy, indeed, of our objectives in general." (M. Domarus, op. cit., p. 73)

Strauss used a few other words but in effect said the same:

"It is reasonable to say that today economic strength and the capability for self-defence are a denominator for international standing." (German Bundestag, op. cit., p. 204)

Strauss also borrowed his conception of an authoritative state leadership from Hitler:

"... Leading the state... also (demands) a management that is more closely adapted to modern industrial management." (*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, Munich, 23–24 July 1966)

Hitler had formulated his opinion in this way:

"It is nonsense to build the economic side of life... on the authority of the personality but to deny the authority of the personality politically and to put in its place the rule of the big number, democracy." (M. Domarus, op. cit., p. 73)

But Strauss, who had to leave the government in 1962 because of his corruption affairs, his offences against the Basic Law (constitution) and contempt for parliament and who is rejected by large parts of the West German population because of his corruption brutality, cunning and aggressivity, could not immediately be made chancellor. With him in office it would have been impossible to establish the "great coalition" which seemed to be necessary for the attack on the standard of life of the population and the intended amendment of the Basic Law. Therefore Strauss had the role of "chancellor maker". The paper of West German heavy industry, the *Industriekurier*, expressly declared on 10 November 1966: "Without him (Strauss-editor) and his CSU no new chancellor can be made."

Who is this man Strauss who is selected by West German monopoly capital as the key figure in the new government?

His political career started already in the days of Hitler's "thousand-year Reich". In those days he rose from Rottenführer and "ideological specialist" in the NSKK (national socialist motor corps) to an national socialist guidance and instruction officer. These were obviously favourable prerequisites for a steep career in the CSU after 1945 and as a co-founder of the CSU he became general secretary of this party already in 1948. At the same time he advanced from district president to senior government counsellor to the post of federal atomic minister and finally in 1956 to war minister. In this position he was authoritatively responsible for the rearmament of the Bundeswehr and the working out of the aggressive "forward strategy".

After Strauss had been removed from the government, the recognition matured in him, as he expressed it himself, that "the economy to a far-reaching degree was our own destiny and that therefore being concerned with economic policy is today one of the first tasks of a politician". (*Industriekurier*, Düsseldorf, 10 November 1966)

For this reason he again took up his economic studies which he had begun already under Hitler, in order to construct his image as economist politician. In this effort he relied on the family enterprise belonging to his father-in-law and on his close personal contacts with big capital which range from the general manager of the Nuremberg Diehl group (turnover some 500 million marks) and the former hold-out General Walter Wenk (1945 supreme commander of the relief army for Berlin), as well as the former Henschel general manager Fritz Aurel Görgen up to the heavy industry of the Ruhr, as was reported by the West German periodical *CIVIS* in No. 11 of 1966.

In partnership with Abs and other monopolists this man Strauss found in the Baden-Württemberg prime minister and ex-nazi Kiesinger that man who was suited and willing to implement, as federal chancellor, the political conception represented by Strauss and simultaneously by putting Strauss himself in the post of

minister of finance, shifting him to that function in the government which in the present situation is of first rank significance for the economic, political and military expansion of West German finance capital.

The finances of the state which in the conception of former Chancellor Erhard had already been described as "the log-book of the formed society" and by the new head of the cabinet, Kiesinger, as the decisive economic "scope for political decisions" were to play the parts of a key instrument for the envisaged "internal reform of the state".

Quite obviously the Bonn Ministry of Finance is to take over in future the role of a leading economic policy centre and be expanded as the firm support of the authoritarian exercise of state power. As the money "giver" for all other spheres—including the Federal Ministry of Economics—it has, by means of the control exercised over expenditures, an insight and thus a considerable influence on the political and material decisions in the entire governmental apparatus. The draft of the "Stabilization Law" (German Bundestag, 5th electoral period, Drucksache V/890, Bonn, 2 September 1966, p. 12) reads: "Financial policy is to be understood here in the *broadest* sense of the word. It comprises all measures with financial effects. Thus the regulation directly applies to *all spheres of political actions* (emphasis by the editor)."

For Strauss the most important task as finance minister is to create the economic and in particular the financial foundation for the expansive policy of West German imperialism. He declared:

"In particular now, where in the field of foreign policy the wind is blowing in our face, this foundation, which primarily constitutes our international reputation and which also determines more than declamatory speeches our right to represent the German nation, must be neither touched nor weakened." (*Industriekurier*, Düsseldorf, 10 November 1966)

Thus he fulfils those tasks which West German Bundestag President Gerstenmaier had already briefly formulated in the following words:

"Generally speaking an attractive and flexible foreign policy includes the possibility, if necessary, of being able to have recourse to available financial means to an extent which is no longer possible for us . . .

"The place of the aggressive weapon has to some degree been taken by money. A state which wants to rely, full of illusions, on the ready payment of his love for peace, on the self-acting recognition of its legal claims and perhaps on the international effect of its culture, must decide on ever new initiatives which cost money, a lot of money." (*Industriekurier*, Düsseldorf, 2 July 1966)

How Strauss intends to get this money is shown by his activity in the first weeks after assuming office. According to the motto "He who wants to save must produce sweat and tears" he is conducting a "hard"

financial policy at the cost of the West German working people. It is characterized by

- wage stop,
- increase in consumers' taxes,
- reduction of state social expenditures,
- restriction of expenditures for communal purposes.

At the same time he is dealing out additional profits to the monopolies by tax reductions and increasing the rates of depreciation. But that is only the beginning. At the economic council of the CDU on 27 January 1967 he announced more and still sharper measures. Strauss declared, according to a report in *Die Welt* of 28 January 1967: "If the measures now introduced should not be effective enough, other and sharper measures would be taken. 'We still have arrows in our quiver', Strauss said, the economy could rely on it that the government would also know how to shoot them."

In order to implement this intensified arms program against the population, Strauss at the same time demanded a further dismantling of democracy and further deprivation of the working people of their rights. He advocated "new forms and methods of governing". He is aiming at a change in the Basic Law with the objective of a reactionary "state reform", in order to adapt the government system "to the leadership methods of modern economic management". The issue therefore is for him consistently to effect the "standpoint of the master in the house" of the monopolies in the state.

Blessing's Brown Bankers

Next to Strauss, Karl Blessing as president of the Federal Bank with its banking apparatus plays a big role in financial policy. Leafing through the records of this present-day holder of the Bonn "Great Cross of Merit" one learns among other things:

Up to 1939 Blessing was a member of the Reichsbank board of directors, later also board member of the Kontinentale Oel AG in Berlin. He was one of Hitler Germany's war economy leaders and belonged to the intimate "Circle of Friends of the Reichsführer SS", which means he was one of the most direct financial

supporters of mass murderer Himmler. For his active participation in the annexation of Austria he was awarded the "Medal Commemorating 13 March 1938". When during the last months of the war the Nazi leadership did everything possible to shift values amounting to millions and the plundered property of murdered Jews to foreign camouflaged accounts as fascist starting capital for the post-war period, Blessing's name repeatedly appeared in the minutes of the Nazi working group for questions of foreign trade, after this man for years had been deputy chairman of the "currency committee" of the Reichsbank. Blessing must be listed among that exposed clique which made irresponsible speculations the principle of fascist financial policy and arms financing, and who authoritatively shared responsibility for the total destruction of the Reichsmark currency.

On the eve of the Second World War Blessing was celebrating the Hitler dictatorship: "Up to now Germany alone was successful with its methods. To the amazement of the whole world production in Germany has shown an uninterrupted rise since 1933. The results since then let us assume that a *mobilization and guidance of all economic energies* seems to be possible *only in a totalitarian regime...*" (Emphasis by editor) (K. Blessing, "Die internationale Währungsfrage", Berlin/Leipzig, Vienna, 1939, p. 12)

This avowal by Blessing speaks for itself. It characterizes Blessing's pro-fascist attitude and proves his open support of the Nazis. After 1945 Blessing was arrested by the allies and was envisaged for the so-called Nuremberg successor trials by the American representatives of the prosecution. He was only saved by the renunciation of the Potsdam decisions by US occupation policy. In 1947 the US occupants dropped the charge against the members of the "Circle of Friends of the Reichsführer SS" although their criminal complicity was proved. For Blessing the path to the top was clear in the West German state which broke out of the German state unit in 1949.

Today he has incorrigibly gathered around him immoral underlings of Hitler Germany's inflationist gambling financial policy in the leading organs of the West German Bundesbank and the central provincial banks:

Benning, Dr. Bernhard

today: Member of the Central Banking Council and board of directors of the Bundesbank

before 1945: Director of the Reichskreditgesellschaft, had a vital share in financing armament and war, carried out economic espionage as the confidential agent of the Gestapo and the OKW Economic Staff and participated in the planning and implementation of the fascist attack on Norway and in planning an attack on Sweden and Great Britain

Bröker, Leopold W.

today: Member of the Central Banking Council, president of the provincial central bank in Hesse

before 1945: Director and member of the "Leading Council of the Reichsverband deutscher Bausparkassen"

Dahlgrün, Prof. Dr. Hans-Georg

today: Member of the Central Banking Council and president of the central provincial bank in Rhineland-Palatinate

before 1945: Senior government counsellor with the Head of the Civil Administration in occupied Lorraine, before financial adviser with the "Governor General in Cracow", worked directly with anti-Semite *Hans Globke*

Emminger, Dr. Otmar

today: Member of the Central Banking Council and the board of directors of the Bundesbank

before 1945: Department head in the Institute of Business Research, an instrument of fascist economic policy

Fessler, Ernst

today: Member of the Central Banking Council and president of the central provincial bank in North Rhine-Westphalia

before 1945: In the Reich Credit Supervisory Office, after the attack on Poland with the government of the general government, actively participated as liquidator of foreign property in favour of the German imperialists in plundering the Polish people and prior to that in the plundering of Austria

Henckel, Dr. Hans

today: Since 15 February 1966 member of the Central Banking Council and the board of directors of the Bundesbank, head of the monetary and credit department

before 1945: Expert in the Chief Trustee Centre East in the Reich Ministry of Economics, before with the Reich commissar for the credit system, participated actively in the liquidation of Polish property and in the so-called Aryanization program

Irmeler, Dr. Heinrich

today: Member of the Central Banking Council and the board of directors of the Bundesbank

before 1945: Bank counsellor in the national economy department of the Reichsbank

Kähler, Otto

today: Member of the Central Banking Council and president of the central provincial bank of Schleswig-Holstein

before 1945: with the Reichsbank, was employed in 1940 with the "Reich Commissar for the Occupied Norwegian Territories", later in Denmark

Pfleiderer, Dr. Otto

today: Member of the Central Banking Council and president of the central provincial bank in Baden-Württemberg

before 1945: Working in the economic department of the Reichs-Kredit-Gesellschaft

Schelling, Friedrich Wilhelm von

today: Member of the Central Banking Council and president of the central provincial bank in Hamburg

before 1945: Reporting director of the Reichsbank board of directors

Tüngeler, Johannes

today: Member of the Central Banking Council and the board of directors of the Bundesbank

before 1945: Reichsbank counsellor and section head in the Reich Ministry of Economics, participated actively in the plundering of Roumania, in particular for the war criminal IG-Farben trust, later counter-intelligence commissioner of the military secret service, employed as liaison officer with the Gestapo and SD (security service)

Behind the pompous facades the West German ministerial chancelleries and banking offices are staffed with old nazis who had marched enthusiastically behind the SS death head, who unscrupulously "Aryanized" and took over Jewish property, conceived secret mobilization plans for the national socialist war economy, signed them and realized them one by one. Door to door in the long corridors sit those who supported the main war criminals Göring, Speer and Funk as experts for arms financing and organization. They who went out after 1939 to force the population in the territories occupied by Hitler Germany to inhuman tributes and to herd together slave labour transports for German monopoly capital, also in the past years used their time to convey their "experience" to the younger groups of the West German state and financial bureaucracy and to train them in the evil nazi expansionist spirit.

Fulfilment Assistant: Schiller

When at the end of 1966 it was necessary to find a new man for the ruined CDU/CSU economic policy, Hermann Josef Abs of the Deutsche Bank monopoly and the leaders from the Rhine and Ruhr, especially those of Thyssen and Krupp, quickly agreed. The choice was the pseudo-social democrat Dr. Karl Schiller. This newly-appointed assistant of the capitalist wire-pullers was no blank page. The old "war economy leaders" appointed him because they knew him from the time when they were jointly "driving against England" and storming the Urals. Schiller participated uninterruptedly to make this possible, by no means in the last ranks, but unshaken and loyal to Hitler to the bitter end.

In 1936 the 25-year-old SA man Karl Schiller wrote his thesis for the doctor's degree on the "Reich Labour Service (RAD)" and its "specific state-economic pro-

duction process with *political* and economic aims. (Cf. K. Schiller, "Arbeitsbeschaffung und Finanzordnung in Deutschland", Berlin, 1936, p. 4) For Schiller the work columns wearing the swastika band and having to do hard work for the monopolies at pay rates far below the tariffs developed, "after the national socialist revolution (meaning Hitler's seizure of power in 1933—editor), into a comprehensive service and educational work on the people and the soil which was crowned by the *obligatory* service of the labour service men". (*Ibid.*, p. 53). In this and in the following quotations of the section on Schiller the emphases were made by the editor.

In 1939 Schiller as "Political Leader" of the nazi party wrote his habilitation thesis under the motto that his "fundamental investigations" of economic measures "were at the same time an aid for the *new order of the world economy after the war*. And in particular in this field German economic policy will be faced with tremendous tasks after the *victorious* end of the war, after it had already made advances in market arrangements". (K. Schiller, "Marktregulierung und Marktordnung in der Weltagrarwirtschaft", Jena, 1940, p. 111) Later on he clearly formulated the idea that the preparation of the fascist war economy had taken place in peace times and particularly since 1933 in the form of "measures of economic preparation". He expressed it more precisely in that pamphlet which he wrote in full consciousness and to justify his academic degree of which he is so proud today, that war-economic measures in Hitler Germany "had already proved to be *necessary* in the course of the peaceful development, that they were formed already then, *had proved themselves* and were now continuing to have their effect". Then followed another unreserved glorification of Hitler's war aims in the form of the diligent propagation of the "raw material reservoirs of the *Eurasian* continent east of the Maginot line". "In this continental economy", so Schiller outlines the economic territory envisaged by his Führer Hitler for his program of conquest from France to the Urals, "the great economic-political dynamics of the present war grows". And Schiller concludes that it was in fact that force which would "*co-determine* the picture of the economic design *after the war*".

Even in his retrospective book discussions Schiller constantly used such fascist phrases as:

"The book deals with the German peace economy and was created under peace conditions. Despite this questioning and orientation the reader must come to the conclusion that at the same time the military strength of the German national economy is also demonstrated." (K. Schiller's review of the book by C. W. Guillebaud, *The Economic Recovery of Germany from 1933 to the Incorporation of Austria in March 1938*, London, 1939. Macmillan and Co., in *Zeitschrift für die gesamte Staatswissenschaft*, Tübingen, 1940, p. 384)

He wrote in 1940: "It can be fully understood that,

by the severance of the Sudeten German territories and by the establishment of the protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, which suddenly created a vast and receptive home market for industry (Hitler Germany's—editor), the agrarian problems of these areas were also fundamentally changed..." (K. Schiller, "Marktregulierung...", op. cit., p. 50)

"Soil" for the German monopolies, that was the nazi guiding line for Karl Schiller's practical ideas.

After Hitler Germany's attack on Poland, Schiller threatened: "After the crumbling of the state system (to be noted is the cynical terminology for the attack on Poland and its occupation—editor) in particular the western intensive zones (of Poland—editor) will be given a new structure."

As "research group leader" he participated in work on the directives for the thorough plundering of the territories which were occupied by German imperialism in West and North, in South-East and East. A letter by the Kiel Institute of World Economy of 6 October 1939 to the "Reich minister of science and education" says on Karl Schiller: "... He qualified as a university lecturer in February of this year. He received the lectureship on 30 August 1939 from the Reich minister of education. At the same time he is occupied with *urgent tasks which I may not define more closely in this connection* and are of the greatest importance for the current tasks of the institute..." (Op. cit., p. 109). This assessment illustrates once more that the research work was secret and the "current tasks" were in line with Hitler Germany's warfare.

Finally Schiller himself enthusiastically joined the army and as a matter of course he entered the officers' corps of the Hitler Wehrmacht and went with the 290th infantry division to the Soviet Union. He helped to terrorize Soviet citizens in the regions of Vilnius, Riga, Velikie Luki, Staraya Russa, Novgorod and south of Leningrad. With the "Iron Cross" and the "War Cross of Merit with Swords" of German militarism on his breast, he finally trained officers of the Hitler Wehrmacht until he was required for the still more urgent training of fascist economic cadres for the universities. His release from army service was substantiated in his personal record as follows:

"With reference to the decree of the General Commissioner for the Administration of the Reich of 20 June 1940—GBV 119/40 g—2270—it is stated that the scientific assistant Dr. Schiller... had to be released from service in the army *for urgent reasons of the defence of the Reich for the realization of important military tasks of the administration of the Ministry of Science and Education*. No disadvantages from this release from army service may therefore arise for him."

Schiller's intellectual roots went deep into Rosenberg's blood-and-soil ideology, irresponsibly deep for an allegedly intelligent person. Schiller was ready to support every annexation and every aggressive step by Hitler as a never tiring clique. Systematically and

Facsimile of the career of Karl Schiller, the present economics minister in Bonn. Schiller confirmed with his signature that he was a member of the nazi party, the SA and the nazi student organization.

Besetz Dr.rer.pol.habil. Karl Schiller

Lebenslauf

Ich wurde am 24.4.1911 in Breslau als Sohn des Ingenieurs Karl Schiller und seiner Ehefrau Maria, geb. Dreisehner, geboren.

Im Juli 1933 trat ich in Heidelberg in die SA. der NSDAP. und den NSDStB. ein. -

Am 1. März 1934 legte ich an der Universität Heidelberg die Diplom-Volkswirts-Prüfung mit "ausgezeichnet" ab. Danach nahm ich an einem dreiwöchigen Lehrstärkungslehrgang in Adelheim/Baden teil.

Am 1. September 1935 trat ich in die Forschungsgruppe "Marktordnung und Agrarwirtschaft" am Institut für Weltwirtschaft in Kiel als Assistent ein. In dieser Gruppe unter Professor C. Mackerroth unterstehenden Gruppe hatte ich zuerst die agrarischen Marktregulierungen in den Niederlanden zu untersuchen, und auch die Fühlnahmen und Verbindung unserer Arbeit mit der wirtschaftspolitischen und vor allem agrarpolitischen Praxis herzustellen bzw. zu vertiefen.

Am 1. Mai 1937 bin ich in die NSDAP. eingetreten.

Ich bin seit dem 7. Mai 1938 verheiratet.

Ich versichere an Eides Statt, dass ich noch keinen anderen Habilitationversuch unternommen habe.

Kiel, den 3. Januar 1939.

Karl Schiller.

Two other documents from Schiller's personnel file: The nazi lecturers' association favoured appointing Schiller to a lecturership (above). Schiller took the oath to Hitler, whom he promises to serve "faithfully and obediently" (below).

Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei

Organisation Schleswig-Holstein

Verpflichtet der Parteipflicht: Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei, Organisation Schleswig-Holstein, Kiel, Gewand. General: Kiel 0400
 Geschäftsstelle der Organisation: Kieler Oper- und Leibstraße, Kiel, Konting. 200 unter NSDAP, Kiel, Gewand. Geschäftsstelle der Organisation: Ami Hamburg Nr. 14073 unter NSDAP, Kiel, Gewand.



Tagungsstellen der Nationalsozialistischen Gewerkschaft Schleswig-Holstein, O. m. b. B., Jäger: 1. Schleswig-Holsteinische Tagungsstelle, Jäger in Holstein, Breite Straße 48, General: Gesamt-Nummer 2104
 11. Nationalsozialistische Tagungsstelle, Kiel, Bergstraße 11, General: 607 608
 111. Elbischer Tagungsstelle, Lübeck, Jägerstraße 48, General: 6 23831

NSD-Dozentenbund
Der Dozentenbundsführer
an der Universität Kiel

Zeichen, Datum und Gegenstand des Schreibens bei
 Antwort Brief angeben!

Ihr Zeichen:

Gegenstand:

Kiel, den 4. Mai 1939.
 Universität

An den
 Herrn Reichserziehungsminister
B e r l i n # 8
 - auf dem Dienstweg -

Der Dozentenbund schließt sich dem
 Antrag der Rechts- und Staatswissenschaftlichen
 Fakultät auf Verleihung der Dozentur an Herrn
 Dr.rer.pol. S c h i l l e r an.

I.A.

Stiening

Geschäftsführer des NSD-Dozentenbundes.

V e r e i d i g u n g s n a c h w e i s .

Der unterzeichnete
 (Name und Dienststellung)
 Dozent Dr.rer.pol.habil.Karl S c h i l l e r

 hat heute den Diensteid der öffentlichen Beamten wie
 folgt geleistet:

"Ich schwöre: Ich werde dem Führer des Deutschen Reiches
 und Volkes, Adolf Hitler, treu und gehorsam sein, die
 Gesetze befolgen und meine Amtspflichten gewissenhaft
 erfüllen, so wahr mir Gott helfe".

K i e l , den 16. September 1939..

K. Schiller
 (Unterschrift)

In this document Schiller is assured that "politically... he has proved himself very well" in the Institute of World Economics. In addition, the document proves that Schiller

was active as a political leader of the nazi party from 1938. (Cf. for this and the other documents, the section on "The Fulfilment Assistant-Schiller")

Institut für Weltwirtschaft
an der Universität Kiel

P/Ma.

Kiel, den 6. Oktober 1939

Formul.: 1028, 1029, 1717
Dachbroschüre: Weltwirtschaft

Eg.-Nr. _____

An den Herrn
Reichsminister für Wissenschaft, Erziehung und
Volksbildung

Berlin W.8
Unter den Eichen 69

Dr. Schiller hat sich menschlich und
politisch während der ganzen Zeit seiner Zugehörigkeit zum
Institut für Weltwirtschaft sehr bewährt. Er ist Mitglied
der NSDAP. In seinem derzeitigen Antrag auf Ernennung zum
Dozenten hat Dr. Schiller alle Unterlagen (Nachweis der ari-
schen Abstammung usw.) zur Erlangung der Beamteneigenschaft
beigebracht. Sie befinden sich in den verschiedenen Ausfertigi-
ngen auf den entsprechenden Dienststellen.

Andreas Fredühl
(i. V. v. Dr. Andreas Fredühl)

durch den Herrn Rektor der Universität
Dekan der Rechts- u. Staatsw. Fakultät
Leiter der Dozentenchaft
Kurator

Gesehen u. befürwortend weiter-
geleitet.
Kiel, den 10. X. 1939
Der Dekan
der Rechts- u. Staatsw. Fakultät
gez. Schaffstein

<p>1. Zuname</p> <p>8. 10. 1911</p> <p>1. Name (Rufname un- terstreichen)</p> <p>Karl August Fries</p> <p>Geburtsort</p> <p>24. 4. 1911</p> <p>Religion</p> <p>arisch</p> <p>1. Adresse (Anschrift: Schiller (in Blei ausfüllen))</p> <p>evtl. luth.</p> <p>1. Privat-Anschrift: St. Peter (Kampfeck)</p> <p>2. Feldpost-Anschrift: F. d. V. 32328</p>	<p>14. Mitgliedschaft in nationalen Verbänden:</p> <p>S.A. Juni 1933 bis 1938</p> <p>N.S.D.St.B. Juni 1933 bis 1935</p> <p>N.S.R.B.</p> <p>N.S. Dozentenbund</p> <p>(Vorname (Rufname un- terstreichen))</p> <p>Schiller, Karl August</p> <p>Geburtsort</p> <p>Religion</p> <p>1. 8. 1916</p> <p>arisch</p>	<p>16. Politische Betätigung:</p> <p>NSDAP seit 1. 9. 1937 (M.-Nr. 4.663.250)</p> <p>seit 1938: Pol. Leiter</p>
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<p>17. Kriegesorden und Ehrenzeichen:</p> <p>Eisernes Kreuz 2. Kl.</p> <p>Kriegsverd. Nr. 2. Kl. mit Schwertern</p>

Thus was Schiller rewarded for his faithful service in the nazi period: Hitler appointed Schiller lecturer and ensured him the "special protection of the Führer" (below). The proposal

to appoint Schiller professor explicitly mentions that the chancellery of the nazi party had no objections to the proposal (above).

25

**Der Reichsminister
für Wissenschaft, Erziehung und Volksbildung.**
(Vertretungsbefähigte Stelle)

Eing 22.8.1939

W P Nr. 2886/43

RP 3740/44

Vorschlag zur Ernennung

des

Dozenten Dr. rer. pol. habil. Karl Schiller
(Entschlüsselung, Name) zum **außerordentlichen Professor**
(Entschlüsselung)

Reichsbefoldungsgruppe H2 **über der ihr entsprechenden Landesbefoldungsgruppe**

Anlage: 1 mitgezeichnete Urkunde

Der Leiter der Partei-Kanzlei hat Einwendungen gegen die Ernennung nicht erhoben.

Dr. Schiller ist seit dem 8. Mai 1941 zum Heeresdienst eingetrieben und steht zurzeit als Leutnant in der Ostfront.

Berlin, den 27. April 1941

Im Namen des Führers

**Staatsminister und Chef der Präsidialkanzlei
des Führers und Reichskanzlers**

Berlin W 8
Poststraße 4

30. August 1939

**Der Reichsminister
für Wissenschaft, Erziehung
und Volksbildung**

Berlin W 8, den
Unter den Eichen 49

W P Schiller 2 b

Es muß gebeten, dieses Geschäftszeichen und den
Gegenstand bei weiteren Schreiben anzugeben.

**Im Namen des Führers
ernenne ich**

den Dr. rer. pol. habil. Karl Schiller zum Dozenten.

Ich vollziehe diese Urkunde in der Erwartung, daß der Ernannte getreu seinem Diensteide seine Amtspflichten gewissenhaft erfüllt und das Vertrauen rechtfertigt, das ihm durch diese Ernennung bewiesen wird. Zugleich darf er des besonderen Schutzes des Führers sicher sein.

Berlin, den 30. August 1939

(Siegel)

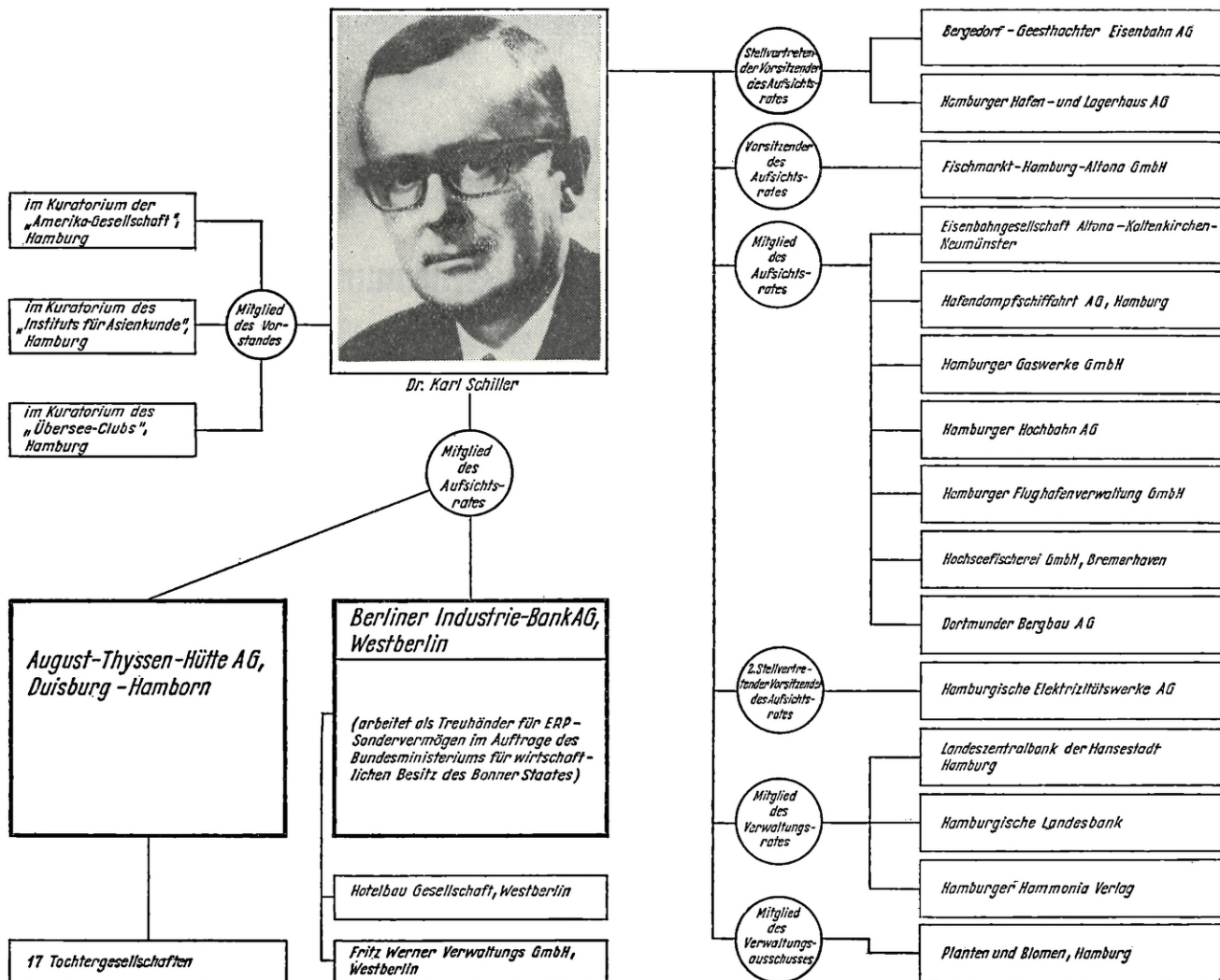
**Für den Ministerpräsidenten:
Der Reichs- und Preussische Minister
für Wissenschaft, Erziehung
und Volksbildung
Im Auftrage
gez. Mentzel.**

41a

K. - S. SEP 1939
Nr. 110030
Anlagen 1

The trust connections of Bonn Minister of Economics Schiller. From the diagram it is clear that Schiller sits in the board of directors, sometimes as chairman, of the most important

big Hamburg enterprises. (Schiller was formerly economics senator in Hamburg.) He also has close connections with heavy industry, banking and economics associations.



steadily he climbed the ladder of success as a nazi favourite. This is illustrated by the following data:

- 1933 membership in the SA and national socialist students' association
- 1934 membership in the national socialist lawyers' association (membership No. 82,421)
- 1935 Doctor's thesis primarily on the financial effect of labour procurement measures since 1933
- 1936 research-group leader at the Kiel Institute of World Economy
- 1937 membership in the NSDAP (No. 4,663,250)
- 1938 political leader of the "Klaus Groth" local NSDAP group in Kiel
- 1939 theme of his docent's test lecture: "The significance of the new financial plan within the framework of German financial policy since 1933", confirmed as national socialist lecturer at Kiel University, service oath on Adolf Hitler, membership in the national socialist lecturers' union (No. 4,981)
- 1940 publication of his book "Marktregulierung und Marktordnung in der Weltagrarwirtschaft"
- 1941 service in the Hitler Wehrmacht, participated in the attack on the Soviet Union, later officer of the Hitler Wehrmacht in army signal corps school I (Halle)
- 1944 appointment to extraordinary national socialist professor, and to an official of Hitler Germany, gave fascist lectures at Rostock University on "economic areas and economic planning", "finance and communal economy", and "agricultural and business policy", together with national socialist regional economic adviser Albert in the examination board for diploma economists

to director of the "Institute for the Agrarian and May Settlement System" of Rostock University; in 1945 addition he trained fascist economic and armament cadres by lectures on "economic principles", "trade and transport policy"

In 1946 this same Karl Schiller managed to obtain on the territory of the western occupation zones of Germany, in Hamburg, the membership card of the Social Democratic Party. Since 1964 he has even been in the party executive of the West German Social Democratic Party *that man* who in Hitler Germany in 1940 stated for German big capital, loudly and with conviction:

"I believe that the example of German economic guidance sufficiently proves that this issue of *outdated socialist* discussion has been overcome today and that things are moving in another polarity than that of private property—state property." (*Zeitschrift für die gesamte Staatswissenschaft*, Tübingen, 1940, p. 382)

With such confirmed reactionary conceptions of Schiller, linked with a demagogically artful appearance, it becomes understandable why he has been moved directly to the side of the CDU/CSU extremists. Apart from a few individual phrases there is no difference between him and them, either with regard to the brown past, the remorselessness, the desire to cause disturbances or the collective interests in profit; Schiller is represented in the economic managements of no less than 17 joint-stock companies, companies and big firms.

Thus, Karl Schiller fits exactly into the system of state monopoly regulation of the economy. He likewise fits into the circle of his ministerial officials. Here is the list of some of these life-long servants of the German financial oligarchy who today are working on the basis of Schiller's directives:

Baetzgen, Dr. Rudolf

today: Ministerial director and head of department II—trade, middle classes, market economy, increase in achievements

before 1945: Ministerial counsellor in the Reich Ministry of Economics, finally head of the economic department of Hitler Germany's legation in Budapest, NSDAP member and SS leader

Baudisch, Dr. Roman

today: Ministerial director and head of department II, trade, middle classes, market economy, responsible for economic organization, price control, directly subordinate to the department head

before 1945: Ministerial counsellor in the Reich Ministry of Economics and with the "Reich protector in Prague", later deputy head of the main national economy department with the "Reich commissar for the occupied Norwegian territories", later general expert

and head of a main department in the Reich Ministry of Armament and War Production, planning office, had a vital share in the total warfare in the economic field, NSDAP member

Bayerl, Dr. Franz

today: Ministerial counsellor, responsible for foreign trade law, foreign goods traffic (except financial questions)

before 1945: Government counsellor in the Reich Ministry of Economics and with the "Reich governor in the Sudetenland", shared responsibly in the plundering and oppression of the Czech people

Beck, Eberhard

today: Ministerial counsellor and expert of department III, energy, mining, iron, steel, responsible for legal and financial matters

before 1945: Government counsellor in the Reich Ministry of Economy and expert for economic organization and organization of trade, in 1939 working with the "Reich Protector in Bohemia and Moravia" in Prague, economy and labour main department, since 1933 NSDAP member and SS leader

Beelitz, Dr. Ulrich

today: Ministerial counsellor, expert in department VI, money and credit, responsible for international financing, World Bank, International Monetary Fund

before 1945: In 1942 as propaganda speaker on behalf of the supreme naval command within the framework of army propaganda, in his own words he propagated "the Führer's Eastern policy", eventually government director in the Berlin city presidium, was judged an official loyal to the nazi state, NSDAP member and head of a regional office

Britsch, Dr. Walter

today: Ministerial director and head of sub-department II B—market economy, trade regulations, vocational training, consumer information

before 1945: Senior Government counsellor in the Reich Ministry of Economics and "Reich trustee for the former Rothschild property" actively participated in the so-called Aryanization measures of the fascists, forced the Aryanization of the Schocken trust and the Rothschild property

Coelln, Dr. Karl-Günter von

today: Ministerial counsellor and expert in sub-department VI/B—finance and insurance, responsible for home financing

before 1945: Senior government counsellor in the Reich Ministry of Economics and head of the so-called Jewish section, was guilty of serious crimes in that function

Dürre, Dr. Günther

today: Ministerial counsellor and head of sub-department VI/A—money, credit and currency department, responsible for monetary, credit and currency basic policy questions, capital market

before 1945: Government counsellor in the Reich Ministry of Economics, later in various currency offices, NSDAP member and SS leader

Ebisch, Dr. Hellmuth

today: Ministerial counsellor and expert of department I—basic questions of economic policy—responsible for coordination and principles of price control, price law

before 1945: Senior judge in Liegnitz, later senior governmental counsellor with the Reich commissar for prices; NSDAP member and group leader

Estner, Dr. Hans

today: Ministerial director and head of department III, power, mining, iron, steel, European community for coal and steel

before 1945: Government counsellor in the Reich Ministry of Economics for the Netherlands, 1940 sent to the occupied Netherlands as reliable SS member, helped actively in plundering the Dutch people

Felsch, Hans

today: Government director and expert of the sub-department, responsible for service traffic with foreign countries, embargo

before 1945: Government assessor with the senior financial president in Leipzig, foreign exchange office volunteered for "employment in the east", served in the fascist secret service, NSDAP member and political speaker

Fremerey, Dr. Gustav

today: President of the Federal Office for Trade in the Federal Ministry of Economics

before 1945: Government director in the Reich Ministry of Economics, among others responsible for war economic planning, cooperated actively in the expropriation of Jewish property and in the criminal measures against foreign forced labour

Gehrels, Dr. Hans

today: Ministerial counsellor and expert of department V, foreign economy and development aid, responsible for economic relations with Great Britain and North Ireland, Iceland, Scandinavia

before 1945: Senior government counsellor in the Reich Ministry of the Interior, later provincial counsellor in the then Posen

Gremse, Dr. Martin

today: Government director and expert for sub-department IV C, responsible for mineralogy, glass, ceramics

before 1945: Government counsellor in the Reich Ministry of Economics, later in the Reich Ministry of Armament and War Production, here closely connected with the war-criminal IG-Farben trust

Heesemann, Dr. Sigtrid

today: Ministerial dirigent and head of sub-department III B, supply, since 1963 also vice-president of the power commission of OECD, Paris

before 1945: Government counsellor in the Reich Ministry of Economics, responsible for war economy matters of the power industry, total planning of power industry, war economic control, secret service questions and contact with the Wehrmacht

Heise, Dr. Hans-Joachim

today: Ministerial counsellor, expert of sub-department E A 6—coordination of the European trade and payment

policy for the association of overseas territories, development territories

before 1945: Senior government counsellor in the Reich Ministry of Economics and Reich commissioner for iron and metals

Humbert, Hans

today: Ministerial counsellor and expert of department V—foreign economy and development aid, responsible for economic relations with the Far East

before 1945: In the so-called Jewish section in the Reich Ministry of Economics, later general expert for armament and war production in the ministry, in addition chairman of the administration council of the "East Procurement Society" which carried out the exploitation of the occupied territories in the East

Kalkstein, Heinz

today: Manager of the Federal Control Office of the Federal Ministry of Economics, this office controls the activity of all credit institutes in West Germany and cooperates in the drafting of laws on the credit system, has a vital share in the "law for Safeguarding the Economy" (WSG) in preparation of a war

before 1945: 1933 to 1937 in the fascist juridical apparatus, then government counsellor with the Reich commissar for the credit system, NSDAP member and block leader

Kroog, Dr. Werner

today: Ministerial counsellor, expert of department VI, money and credit, responsible for export financing

before 1945: Government counsellor in the Reich Ministry of Economics, shares responsibility for plundering the temporarily occupied eastern territories, cooperated closely with the notorious "Economic leadership staff East"

Leitreiter, Dr. Herbert

today: Government director and expert of department II, responsible for economic tasks in the field of film, television, radio

before 1945: Senior government counsellor with the government in Bromberg, NSDAP member and leader in the "regional students' leadership of Danzig-West Prussia

Mittelstrass, Dr. Fritz

today: Ministerial counsellor and expert of sub-department I B—economic policy, responsible for the coordination of civil and military measures in the field of arms economy

before 1945: Counter-intelligence commissioner in the Reich Ministry for Armament and War Production, planning and raw material office, before in the Reich Ministry of Economics responsible for raw material questions

Mosch, Egon

today: Ministerial counsellor and expert of sub-department V A—foreign economy and development aid, responsible for Central and South-East Asia (South Vietnam!), Australia, New Zealand

before 1945: Government counsellor in the Reich Ministry of Economics, had similar tasks to those of today, was responsible among others for fundamental questions of the raw material and material supply of the export industry, NSDAP member since 1930 and SA Sturmführer

Nieschling, Kay

today: Ministerial counsellor and expert of the central department, responsible for staff matters

before 1945: Judge advocate of the navy with the Wehrmacht commander South in occupied Norway, pronounced terror sentences against German soldiers

Reinhardt, Dr. Hermann

today: Ministerial director and head of department V—foreign economy and development aid

before 1945: Ministerial director in the Reich Ministry of Economics, also responsible in the field of imports and exports, he helped in particular to plunder the countries of South-East Europe for the German imperialists for which he was decorated by the fascists until the end

Richter, Martin

today: Ministerial director, head of sub-department III A mining, responsible for the power policy of the West German federal government primarily with regard to mine closures

before 1945: Senior mining director in the Reich Ministry of Economics, main department II/departement II/1 mining with the following field: tasks of war preparation in the field of mining, war-economic measures in the field of mining, in 1939 especially named and employed as expert in war preparation

Rotermund, Heinz

today: Ministerial counsellor, expert of sub-department III D, foreign economy in the framework of the "European Coal and Steel Community"

before 1945: Government counsellor in the Reich Ministry of Economics with the mineral-oil department, later department S 2, which among others was responsible for military-economic questions and the cooperation of the Reich Ministry of Economics with the supreme command of the Wehrmacht

Rother, Dr. Heinz

today: Ministerial counsellor and expert in department II, responsible for trade law

before 1945: Government counsellor in the Reich Ministry of Economics, among others in the section for

fundamental economic questions, for industrial law, he had a vital share in the so-called Aryanization measures, was described as irreplaceable as leading member of staff and expert of the Reich Ministry of Economics by the fascists and decorated accordingly

Rühl, Prof. Dr. Karl

today: Vice-president of the Federal Institute for Material Testing in the Federal Ministry of Economics, this administration is closely connected with the arms trusts and carries out certain tasks with the secret West German atomic bomb production

before 1945: Ministerial director in the Reich Ministry of Economics and already here participated on behalf of the same arms trusts in the production for war

Schattenberg, Horst-Renner

today: Ministerial counsellor and expert of sub-department IV C, directly subordinate to the departmental manager, responsible for precautionary and emergency measures

before 1945: Senior government counsellor in the Reich Ministry of the Interior and deputy police president of Coblentz, NSDAP member since 1931

Schellpeper, Herbert

today: Ministerial counsellor, expert of department V, foreign economy and development aid, responsible for economic cooperation in extra-European organizations

before 1945: Government counsellor in the Reich Ministry of Economics, contributed in the Second World War as district commissar in occupied Yugoslavia in the oppression and plundering of the peoples of Yugoslavia

Schreihage, Dr. Heinrich

today: Ministerial counsellor and expert of sub-department VI/A—monetary, credit and currency system, responsible for the banking system

before 1945: Government counsellor in the Reich Ministry of Economics, credit system department, member of NSDAP and SA

Schulz, Dr. Heinz Friedrich

today: Ministerial counsellor, expert of department V, foreign economy and development aid, responsible for economic cooperation in the inter-state organizations, trade with the developing countries

before 1945: Senior government counsellor in the Reich Ministry of Economics, finally deputy department leader in the notorious "Economic Staff East", which carried on the systematic plundering of the occupied territories of the Soviet Union by means of terror, member of the NSDAP, in 1937 SS Untersturmführer

Seiberlich, Josef

today: Governmental director and expert of department V, foreign economy and development aid, sub-

department V B, economic relations with foreign countries, responsible for North America, Israel

before 1945: Senior government counsellor in the Reich Labour Ministry, liaison with the fascist Foreign Office, from 1943 on cooperated in the economic plundering of the occupied territories of Italy

Selle, Hans Otto von

today: Senior government counsellor and department manager for the commercial and legislative service in the Federal Office for Foreign Trade Information in the Federal Ministry of Economics, this office has the task of conducting industrial espionage in cooperation with the Foreign Ministry

before 1945: Diplomatic service in the fascist foreign office, NSDAP member before 1933 and SS Obersturmführer

Sennekamp, H.

today: Ministerial counsellor, expert of sub-department IV A—iron and metal industry, responsible for metals, now director general for coal of the European Coal and Steel Community

before 1945: Railway counsellor in the Reich Ministry of Economics, department for the iron and metal industry, later senior government counsellor in the Reich Ministry for Armament and War Production, metal group, had a share in the stealing of foreign metals, for example silver from Yugoslavia which among other things he had prepared in 1944 for the SS economic administrative office to be used by SS officers

Siebert, Dr. Albrecht

today: Ministerial counsellor in department II, responsible for trade law and organization

before 1945: Government counsellor with the "Reich Commissar for the Sudeten German Territories", NSDAP member and SA leader

Sperl, Ulrich

today: Ministerial counsellor, head of the section V B 3, responsible for economic relations with the Near East

before 1945: Government counsellor in the Reich Ministry of Economics, before then with the Reich supervisory office for private insurance

Stedtfeld, Dr. Fritz

today: Ministerial director and head of sub-department V A—general questions of foreign economy and development aid

before 1945: Government counsellor in the Reich Ministry of Economics, responsible for the import and export of currency, border traffic, holder of several fascist honours

Steidle, Dr. Walter

today: Ministerial counsellor and expert of department V, foreign economy and development aid, sub-

department V B, economic relations with foreign countries, responsible for East and South-East Europe
before 1945: Government counsellor in the Reich Ministry of Economics, currency, economic administration, NSDAP member and block leader

Toepler, Dr. Bruno

today: Ministerial director and head of department 5 B, foreign economy and development aid, responsible for economic relations with South and Central America
before 1945: Senior government counsellor in the Reich Ministry of Economics, later in the Reich Ministry for Armament and War Production, raw material office, not only had an active share in the economic preparation of the board of directors of the cellulose trust in the exploitation of foreign forced labour and concentration camp prisoners

Turowski, Lothar

today: Ministerial counsellor, expert of sub-department EA, coordination of the European trade and payment policy, especially of EEC
before 1945: Government counsellor in the Reich Ministry of Economics, in 1940 had the special task of establishing a currency control in the occupied Czech territory with the aim of completely plundering the Czech people on this territory

Walter, Dr. Franz

today: Ministerial director, head of the central department, here responsible for staff policy and security questions, law, fundamental questions for the economic order, questions of labour law
before 1945: District judge in special court II of the Berlin provincial court, participated in several terrorist trials against anti-fascists, NSDAP member and SA leader

Woratz, Dr. Gerhard

today: Ministerial director and head of department E—European inter-state economic cooperation (European department), responsible for trade between the two German states
before 1945: Government counsellor in the Reich Ministry of Economics, also responsible for textile supplies in occupied Denmark, NSDAP member, block leader and head of investigations in an NSDAP district court

Zaddach, Dr. Rudolf

today: Ministerial counsellor and expert of sub-department V B 4, responsible for economic relations with Central and South-East Asia, Australia, New Zealand
before 1945: Section manager in the Reich Ministry of Economics, responsible for fundamental economic-political questions of industry, holder of the "War Cross of Merit 1st class"

THE UNEVEN DEVELOPMENT SHARPENS THE CONTRADICTIONS

Outstripping the Western Neighbours

Two decades after the unconditional surrender of Hitler Germany, the territorially smaller West Germany has a far bigger economic potential than the whole of imperialist Germany before the Second World War. The social product, for example, rose between 1935 and 1965 to more than two-fold, although today in the West German economy 7.8 million fewer people are working than in the fascist Germany of 1935.

Capital, Number of Employed Persons and Social Product in West Germany in Comparison with the Imperialist Germany before the Second World War at Constant Prices

Year	Capital (1,000 mill. marks)	Employees (mill.)	Social Product (1,000 mill. marks)
1930	580	32.5	131
1935	611	35.0	141
1950	400	22.0	111
1955	537	24.5	172
1960	732	26.0	220
1965*	950	27.2	300

The powerful economic potential and the tremendous economic power which are concealed behind these figures enabled West German monopoly capital to advance rapidly once more to a place among the leading industrial countries: In 1948 West Germany was in a worse position than France; in 1958 it had almost reached Great Britain with respect to the share of industrial production and had left France far behind; with regard to the export share and currency reserves it was already the second-strongest imperialist country. In 1961 it had also surpassed Great Britain with regard to the share in the industrial production of the capitalist world. Thus at the relative high point of its economic power it had become the second-strongest industrial state in the capitalist camp.

These results were achieved although imperialist West Germany could no longer rely, as before the First World War, on regions of political influence which had strong capital investments abroad or constituted remains of colonial expansion. West Germany did not

* including the Saar. Figures for capital estimated according to the data of total economic calculation (W. Waffenschmidt, "Automation", Stuttgart, 1964, p. 29; figures for 1965 supplemented according to the Statistical Year Book for the Federal Republic of Germany, Wiesbaden, 1966)

Economic Indices of the Relations of Forces between the Chief Imperialist Countries—Shares in per cent (capitalist camp = 100)

Country	Shares in industrial production				Shares in export				Shares in gold and foreign exchange reserves			
	1948	1958	1961	1965	1948	1958	1961	1965	1948	1958	1961	1965
USA	55.8	46.6	44.7	45.1	24.1	18.3	17.8	16.6	46.0	36.1	29.9	22.1
West Germany	4.2	9.5	9.9	9.4	1.3	9.8	10.9	11.0	0.5	10.2	11.4	10.6
Great Britain	11.9	9.8	9.2	8.2	12.1	9.4	8.8	8.1	4.3	5.4	5.3	4.3
France	4.5	5.0	4.8	4.5	3.9	5.7	6.2	6.2	0.9	2.0	5.4	9.1
Italy	2.2	3.1	3.6	3.5	2.1	2.7	3.6	4.4	0.9	3.9	6.1	6.3
total EEC	13.0	19.9	20.6	19.6	12.5	24.9	27.8	29.5	4.9	21.4	29.0	33.0

(*Mirowaja Ekonomika i Mezhdunarodnyje Otnosenija*, Moscow, 1965, No. 10, p. 43, and 1966, No. 9, supplement, p. 6; supplemented according to *International Financial Statistics*, Washington, 1967, No. 1, p. 15)

have such possibilities of influence as England and France still have through their currency zones. West Germany's foreign-economic expansion therefore had to be primarily achieved by foreign trade.

Spectre of Economic Instability

Under the influence of the scientific-technical revolution the unevenness of development and the instability of the imperialist countries increased in the course of the post-war period. For West German imperialism the beginning of the nineteen-sixties constituted a deep incision. The period during which the economic position of West Germany within the system of imperialism had improved from year to year came to an end and was in the beginning replaced by a phase in which the West German economy no longer expanded more strongly than that of other countries; only Great Britain continued to remain behind.

This is clearly reflected in the real increase in the

	1960 compared with 1950	1965 compared with 1960	1966 compared with 1965
West Germany	+ 108	+ 26	+ 3.0
USA	+ 40	+ 22	+ 5.5
Great Britain	+ 33	+ 18	+ 1.0
France	+ 53	+ 26	+ 5.5

* The definition of the gross social product from the bourgeois statistics includes many things which do not belong to actual material production, for example, services, redistribution positions. For a rough comparison the definition can be used; figures for 1966: for West Germany and France—provisional figures from the EEC commission, published in *Handelsblatt*, Düsseldorf, 1 February 1967; for England and the USA—estimates of the German Institute of Economic Research, West Berlin, published in *Wochenbericht*, No. 45/46 of 10 November 1966

"gross social product"* of the main capitalist countries. (Increase in per cent:)

The development of industrial production shows the same picture. Also in this sphere West Germany already since 1961 was no longer able to achieve gains in positions in comparison with its main competitors. Since that year the share of the West German Federal Republic in the industrial production of the capitalist industrial countries has no longer risen but declined somewhat.

Particularly conclusive is the export of finished goods for the field of foreign economy. A leading British periodical publishes long-term comparisons on the development of the finished goods export of twelve important capitalist countries. According to these figures the following shares went to West Germany (in per cent)

1955	14.3	1963	19.7
1960	18.8	1964	19.2
1961	19.7	1965	19.1
1962	19.4		

(*Board of Trade Journal*, London, 18 November 1966)

Here, too, West Germany's share rose only up to 1961 and has stagnated or even declined since then.

In the most important indices—gross social product, industrial production and finished goods export—now that phase is also becoming visible which German imperialism has entered since 1966: For the first time in many years there are serious economic difficulties in many fields which led to an extraordinary sharpening of the antagonistic contradictions of West German monopoly capital. The West German Federal Republic fell to the next to last place in 1966 with regard to the average economic rate of growth among the important countries: Only in Great Britain are the signs of crisis still more evident.

The law of uneven economic and political development in capitalism which for long had been effective in the post-war period in favour of West German imperialism, is now being felt ever more intensely in the opposite direction.

This, for example, is illustrated in the quarterly report published at the end of January 1967 by the EEC commission on the economic situation in the six EEC states. It contains a number of estimates for 1967 on the basis of figures from the member countries (in each case changes in per cent in comparison to the previous year, for 1966 provisional figures):

		EEC total	Italy	France	West Germany
Gross	1966	4.5	5.5	5.5	3.0
social product	1967	4.0	6.0	5.5	2.5
Gross	1966	3.5	3.5	6.0	1.0
investment	1967	3.0	8.0	7.5	- 1.5
Industrial	1966	4.4	12.0	7.5	1.8
production	1967	5.0	12.0	6.5	1.0
State	1966	3.0	5.0	4.5	1.0
consumption	1967	4.0	3.0	5.5	3.5
Private	1966	4.5	5.5	5.0	3.5
consumption	1967	4.0	6.5	5.5	2.0

(From *Handelsblatt*, Düsseldorf, 1 February 1967)

These signs of crisis are not only an expression of a cyclic recession of the boom to which *every* capitalist economy is subjugated. Also the structural crisis which is currently affecting the coal industry in all capitalist countries, the iron and steel industry as well as the textile industry, is not sufficient as an explanation. In the case of West Germany, important reasons are the high and constantly rising arms expenditures, the high financial expenses of implementing the unrealistic Hallstein doctrine and the other costs of the aggressive policy which includes in particular the aid for the dirty US war in Vietnam. As a matter of course these resources were lost both for accumulation as also for productive consumption. In this way primarily the resources for a purposeful structural policy and for other economic tasks for managing the technical revolution which could have alleviated the difficulties of the relatively backward industrial and economic branches were cut. The burden of arms expenditures increased much more in West Germany than in other NATO

countries. Their rate of growth from 1960 to 1965 amounted in per cent in

NATO total	19	France	34
USA*	12	West Germany	65
England	30		

(NATO Letter, Paris, 1963, No. 1, and 1966, No. 1)

* The special expenditures for the Vietnam war have not been considered here, the actual increase therefore is much higher

The advantage which West Germany had enjoyed at the beginning and around the middle of the nineteen-fifties as compared with other NATO states by reason of its comparatively low armament expenditure at that time, was increasingly lost.

The unproductive armament expenditure and the immensely bloated state budget, which increased more rapidly than the total gross social product, finally led to increased inflation. The circulation of money during the second half of 1966 was 6 per cent higher than during the same period of the year before, thus having increased twice as fast as the social product.

Whereas West Germany had for years drawn advantages for its competitive strength on the world market from the circumstance that the prices of competing countries had experienced a faster rate of increase than those in West Germany, that advantage, too, is now being lost.

Up to the end of 1966 the development of West German exports had been favourable. West German trusts profited not only from the boom in the USA resulting from the aggression in Vietnam and from the favourable economic developments in Italy and France, but they in part conducted "forced" business abroad so as to prevent the further strangulation of inland production. Rising prices are thus at present threatening precisely that domain which had been comparatively spared from the symptoms of crisis.

The West German government found no other economic policy in the face of this situation than that of intensified aggressiveness externally and of increased attacks against the living conditions of the working people at home.

Transition to Neo-Nazi Governing Methods

DEPRIVATION OF THE RIGHTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

In West Germany the transition to new methods of government is in line with the new phase of expansion of its power introduced by West German monopoly capitalism. A whole system of economic, reactionary social, political, juridical and ideological measures is directed towards overcoming the internal and external difficulties of West German imperialism at the expense of the working population. In continuation of the program of "rule of state monopoly capitalism" proclaimed at the 13th CDU Congress in 1965 by the representatives of state monopoly capitalism, the Kiesinger/Strauss government is pushing the line of policy increasingly towards the right.

Ludwig Erhard had proclaimed the need for "moderation". The Kiesinger/Strauss government calls for decisive action to implement this "moderation", that is to say, the continued deprivation of the rights of the working people. The workers of West Germany are to pay for the great-power strategy of West German imperialism.

General Attack against Social Rights

The forming-up of forces for the general offensive against the social rights of the West German working people and the persecution of the trade unions took place above all at the CDU Economic Session in Bonn, on 26 and 27 January 1967. That was where the program of struggle of the monopolies against the working class was formulated.

Approximately 2,000 representatives of trusts, politicians of employers' associations and of the government, having differing roles but common objectives, consulted together on behalf of the mighty and powerful, of whom the paper *Christ und Welt* had written in 1965, that without their influence on politics and economy nothing could be effected. Josef-Hermann Dufhues, for many years executive secretary of the CDU and candidate for the office of chairman of that party, underlined the intention of monopoly capitalism and of his party, the CDU/CSU, to share power with no one. The CDU did not even intend to hand over the reins of economic policy, despite the fact that at the time the economic domain of the federal government was in the

hands of a social democrat. (*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 27 January 1967)

In 23 lectures, numerous discussions in the working groups and 50 theses, the future procedure against the working class was laid down in its most essential points. *Die Welt der Arbeit* gave the following estimate of that Economic session:

"At the end of the two days in Bonn it became evident from the papers and theses, that the active employers intend to utilize the situation recently outlined by the federal chancellor for the further consolidation of their power by preserving the economic strength... The direction of the attack is clearly aimed against the employed..." (*Die Welt der Arbeit*, Cologne-Deutz, 3 February 1967)

The starting point of all considerations was the demand, backed in particular by Dr. Hanns Martin Schleyer, member of the board of directors of the Daimler-Benz Co. and leading representative of the employers' associations, that the economy should not be allowed to become "an experimental field for conceptions of social policy". The required long-term investment decisions of the employers called for "confidence of the economy in the leadership" in regard to the long-term security of the given economic system and factory constitution, and that the legal status of the owner should not be called into question. (Cf. *Die Welt*, Hamburg, 28 January 1967)

As a precondition for a renewed upsurge, Hermann Josef Abs, in his speech to politicians and leading managers of banks and trusts, mentioned a new orientation in wage policy.

"The discipline of wage policy should not only be guaranteed under the pressure of the bank of issue, but also in times of looser credit policy. The government should today muster the courage to bring about concrete parameters for the tariff policy of the social partners." (*Industriekurier*, Düsseldorf, 28 January 1967)

Minister of Finance Franz-Josef Strauss assured the "Captains of the Economy" that the government was resolved to apply more intensive methods in case the measures already introduced failed to show adequate results.

Short-Time, Wage Reductions and Dismissals

The effects of the policy of "Tears and Sweat" elaborated by Strauss and Karl Schiller are already becoming increasingly perceptible to the workers of West Germany with every passing day. The "policy of sacrifices" announced by the Springer trust paper *Die Welt* is now being imposed without reluctance or hesitation at the expense of the trade unions. As stated by Alfred Horné, chief of the social policy department of the Bavarian radio, this gives great satisfaction to the monopoly capitalists:

"Many an employer... is very happy. No one, of

course, would say so aloud for fear of being condemned as 'a social reactionary'." (*AGP-Mitteilungen*, published by the Working Group for the Promotion of Partnership in Economy, Hilden/Rhineland, No. 131, 1 January 1967, p. 8)

The president of the Federal Bank, Karl Blessing, was even more explicit. In a speech to the South Westphalian Industrial and Trade Board he made mockery of the unemployed. He welcomed unemployment, which also affects families, in the following words:

"The weakening of the boom brought out not only negative but also positive aspects. The labour market, which had for years been strained to the utmost, has been loosened." (*Frankfurter Allgemeine*, 20 November 1966, p. 9)

Since April 1966 the number of unemployed has been steadily growing. Up to January 1967 it had reached 621,000. Mining was hit in particular. In 1966 more than a dozen mines were closed down and more than 40,000 miners were dismissed. Those still employed are very seriously affected by short-time. During the period from July to November 1966, 120,000 mine workers suffered the loss of approximately 600,000 work shifts. This meant a loss of wages totalling almost 23 million marks.

The number of registered, partially unemployed, totalled 240,000 in January 1967. Unemployment and partial unemployment not only increase social insecurity but also jeopardize the existence of working class families. In an investigation conducted by the Hamburg weekly magazine *Die Zeit* of 27 January 1967 it was stated that:

"An unemployed worker takes home less money than an employed worker. Those who previously had a gross weekly wage of 200 marks receive no more than 78.90 marks unemployment benefit plus 9 marks for each family member. With two children, that totals about half of the previous gross income.

"It is true that unemployment benefit is tax-free... but the family budget still has to go short of at least 50 marks previously available. That makes about 220 marks a month and 2,640 marks a year. With 100,000 additional unemployed, 264 million marks less circulate in the economy. Thus goods to the value of 264 million marks are not purchased and wages and salaries for the production of those goods are not paid, which will result in further short-time or further unemployment." As if that were not enough, some employers altogether stop the payment of wages due in the event of an enterprise closing down. When the Reppel Welding and Pipe Works in Dortmund went bankrupt, the 170 workers and office employees of that firm were cheated of wages and salaries due to them. (*Westfälische Rundschau*, Dortmund, 8 November 1966)

One of the results of the dismissals, short-time and omitted shifts is the widespread and increasing attachment of wages. According to the Board of Industry and Trade in Munich, 15,000 wage attachments

amounting to six million marks were effected in 15 mining areas among 97,000 employed. Similar figures are also recorded in the iron, steel, textile and chemical industries.

The unemployed are exposed to unparalleled discrimination. The employers defame them as notorious idlers and loiterers. Thus the *Industriekurier* of 13. November 1966 reported that the NSU-works had freed themselves of "30 of their best idlers". This defamation naturally impedes the search for new employment.

Intensified Exploitation

Social insecurity is quite consciously being utilized by employers for the worsening of working conditions and the intensification of exploitation:

"That which previously could not be achieved by means of encouraging words, high rates of pay and voluntary social benefits, has been attained within a short time by the cooling down of the overheated boom-climate. The receding demand for labour and some dismissals have induced many fellow-citizens to return with satisfactory rapidity to an acceptance of the correct proportion between pay and accomplishment." (*Frankfurter Allgemeine*, 23 November 1966)

To give sufficient emphasis to the drive towards sweat-shop methods, numerous enterprises are conducting so-called personnel-revisions, according to which workers considered as "unreliable" or "less efficient" are dismissed.

The workers are subjected to pressure and forced to continue working at the firm of their employers even at less favourable terms and to suffer increased exploitation. Employers are not hesitating to radically reduce social amenities achieved through trade union struggles, under the pretext of the receding boom. The scourge of unemployment is being utilized for squeezing more work out of the employed. Thus, the NSU Works boast of having attained "fantastic results" through dismissals. The enthusiasm of less efficient workers was said to have increased, and the sick-statistics were more than 20 per cent below those for the same month of the previous year. Considerable reductions in the sickness statistics as a result of the merciless threat of unemployment were also reported by the chief of the personnel department of the VW-works in Brauntal near Kassel:

"Now in the winter, sickness statistics of 4.5 per cent would be normal. In fact however, only 1.5 per cent are on sick-leave today." (*Christ und Welt*, Stuttgart, 6 January 1967)

In the West German television transmission entitled "Report" of 23 January 1967, a physician stated, concerning the same problem:

"During recent months it became apparent that employees were visiting my surgery, who, as a result of my medical examination and responsibility should in fact be on sick leave but who refused to take that leave

because they were afraid of losing their job if they stayed away."

The *Süddeutsche Zeitung* characterized the methods of the monopolists as follows:

"The changes in the labour market take place under the motto: idlers have become more conscientious, slow workers are quicker and the sick have become healthier." (*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, Munich, 17./18. December 1966)

An employers' press organ triumphantly observed: "Every employer will register with a justified sigh of relief the normalization of relations which have occurred in the labour market... At last the boss is again the master in his own house!" (D. Rühl, "Master in his own house again?", *Junge Wirtschaft*, Bonn, 1967, No. 1)

Loss of Pay for the Workers—Higher Profits for the Employers

Employers are unscrupulously taking advantage of the anxiety of workers about their employment, mercilessly asserting their place as master of the house and are intent on further increasing their profits at the expense of all those producing the values.

Thus the Siemens trust in 1966 made available approximately 122 million marks for the payment of a 16 per cent dividend. At the same time it became known that short-time was forcing several thousands of workers to accept wage losses varying between 20 and 30 per cent.

The dividend rates of other trusts were even higher. The Ford works in Cologne announced a record dividend of 70 per cent. The Volkswagen works in Wolfsburg, the dye works Höchst AG in Frankfurt-on-Main and the Badische Anilin- und Sodafabrik Ludwigshafen distributed dividends of 20 per cent to their shareholders.

Whereas the armament expenditures of the West German state are devouring constantly increasing sums—more than 20 thousand million marks in 1967—the share of the state budget allocated to social welfare has been decreasing for years. In 1950 the federal expenditure for social welfare still amounted to approximately 37 per cent, by 1966 it had dropped to not quite 27 per cent. This decreasing tendency is being considerably accentuated by the present reduction of social amenities.

Authorization Law to Stabilize Monopoly Power

The so-called stabilization law constitutes an essential factor in the general offensive against the social rights of the West German population. The representatives of the trusts in the employers' associations and in the Bonn government are working at top speed to complete this law. It is intended to become an authorization law for

the economic policy of the Bonn government with far-reaching effectiveness. The international competitive strength of the West German monopolies is to be increased despite the increasing armament burden at the expense of the working people, and greater economic power for the aggressive policy is to be attained. The most important measures envisaged by the stabilization law include:

1. Increased centralization of state funds in the federal budget. The budgets of the federal provinces and municipalities and the means of the unemployment and pension funds are to be utilized more than hitherto for the financial assurance of armament and other purposes serving revanchist aims.
2. Changes in the West German state budget favouring expenditures for the expansionist policy and at the expense of social and cultural projects.
3. Concentration of capital funds on those branches of the economy essential in view of expansion and armament by considerably limiting the scope of small and medium undertakings and of the provinces and municipalities in order to utilize the capital market.
4. Considerable extension of the central regulation and directing mechanism in the domain of currency, finance and investments.

The comment by Strauss at the CDU Economic Session, in reference to the stabilization law—that all measures taken up to date were but a “preliminary taste” of “far more painful operations” (*Die Welt*, Hamburg, 28 January 1967)—was an eloquent expression for the measures planned by the Bonn government in the field of budget policy in the spring of 1967.

Whereas the subsidies for pension funds for workers, office employees and miners are to be reduced by 300 million marks, the monopolies will receive special subsidies allowing them, by way of tax rebates, to reap additional profits amounting to 1.5 to 2 thousand million marks.

Whereas state subsidies to West German farmers were radically reduced by 429 million marks, i.e., roughly 10 per cent of the agrarian budget, the most influential monopolies are given large commissions for state investments, financed by the so-called eventual budget provided by the bank-note printing press and amounting to 2.5 thousand million marks, which will ensure them of high profits despite the economic recession.

Whereas the educational grants for students have now been cancelled, armament expenditures in 1967 will increase by a further thousand million marks. A further concealed increase out of the “eventual budget” is envisaged.

“Concentrated Action” against the Trade Unions

A decisive part of the “stabilization measures” of the monopolies is the so-called “concentrated action”.

Employers and trade unions are to be “brought together” with the aim of inducing them to adopt an attitude “in line with the boom”. The Bonn government emphatically confirmed in a commentary on the economic policy opinion of the “Council of Experts”, that it considered a policy of “controlled expansion” possible only:

“If it is guaranteed by a corresponding wage policy. This calls for close coordination between state institutions responsible for economic policy and the tariff contractual parties within the framework of a ‘concentrated action’.” (*Handelsblatt*, Düsseldorf, 20–21 January 1967)

“The social partners will have to keep discipline during the forthcoming wage negotiations, taking into account the present situation. The social partners must recognize that this is not the time for new wage rounds...” (Federal Bank President Blessing at the CDU Economic Session 1967, *Die Morgenpost*, West Berlin, 29 January 1967)

At the CDU Economic session, Professor Giersch of Saarbrücken University, presented “25 theses on stabilization policy”. In thesis No. 7 he maintains that “The stability of price levels is all the more jeopardized, the greater the strain on the labour market, in particular on the labour market for developing industries.”

The “concentrated action” conceals nothing other than a wage-freeze for West German workers and office employees. In the January 1967 edition of the journal *Gewerkschaftspost*, Hanover, Wilhelm Gefeller, chairman of the Union of Chemical, Paper and Ceramics Workers observed in this connection:

“There are without doubt forces among CDU employers which nurture the idea of shackling the trade unions at the present time...”

In the new version of the so-called stabilization law jointly drafted by Strauss and Schiller, the cabinet in Bonn is vested with the right of increasing income taxes (including wage taxes) or reducing them by 10 per cent without requiring the approval of parliament—as envisaged by the Basic Law. This authorization is supposed to give the government the means of restoring “economic equilibrium”. The monopoly capitalists should not have great difficulties, with their demagogical character, in producing “evidence” in support of the assertion that the “economic disproportion” was the result of excessively high wages and that any higher profit taxation would obstruct economic growth.

Precisely in this spirit the employers’ associations are even today exerting pressure on the trade unions. The president of the German Association of Industry and Commerce (DIHT), Dr. Ernst Schneider, wrote:

“Tariff autonomy, like all other institutions of freedom has its price... Wage directives and orientation aids will only have a purpose if they in fact influence tariff freedom... In the recognition of these accessory institutions, an atmosphere must be created in our

country which will classify all those who reject such aid and who violate the spirit of joint responsibility as national offenders." (*Handelsblatt*, Düsseldorf, 19 December 1966)

The executive of the Metal Workers' Union, in a statement on the stabilization law decidedly rejected "the granting of authorization to the federal government to issue so-called orientation aids or guiding directives to the tariff contract partners, because this would limit tariff autonomy and shift responsibility for economic failures onto the trade unions." (*Metall*, Frankfurt-on-Main, 15 November 1966)

An article in *Welt der Arbeit* stated:

"This additional financial burden on the employed is coupled with the attempt at 'controlled economic expansion' intended to tie down wages and salaries with the aid of state wage policy directives for the total economic productivity advance at the rate of 3 to 4 per cent a year. In a large-scale pincer movement—additional financial burdens on the one hand, controlled economic expansion on the other—the labour market is to be formed or matured... It is significant for the present political situation that the phase of appeals by Federal Chancellor Erhard to make sacrifices is now to be followed by an era of state enforcement of civic duties." (*Welt der Arbeit*, Cologne-Deutz, 6 January 1967)

Co-Determination in the Pincer

Under these circumstances it is not surprising that the political pressure of the monopolies and their government against the trade unions is also increasing. Apart from the attempts made to sow the seeds of discord among the ranks of the trade unions, this includes above all the rejection of all demands raised by the workers and employees for the right to co-determination.

The president of the Federal Association of German Employers' Unions (BDA), Dr. Siegfried Balke, stated towards the end of 1965:

"According to the view of the employers there can be no compromise on the eventual augmentation of economic co-determination—as in the example of the pattern of the co-determination law of the coal and steel industry. This raises a question of the existence of free enterprise. Employers furthermore believe that in this debate the issue is the preservation or abolition of the market economy and the free social system as a whole." (Federal Association of German Employers' Unions, press conference, Bonn, 15 October 1965, p. 2)

This argument, in all variations, appeared during the following months in numerous employers' publications. Thus Dr. Fritz Jacobi, member of the board of directors of the Farbenfabrik Bayer AG wrote in his significantly titled book, "Guidance and Education in Co-Determination":

"The economy has no other choice but to give a clear refusal to the ghostly demand of the trade unions for extended co-determination, in the interest of enterprises, their owners and above all in the interest of our unified social order." (F. Jacobi, "Führen und Erziehen zur Mitbestimmung", Düsseldorf/Vienna 1960, p. 9)

In the days when the Kiesinger/Strauss government was being formed, BDA President Balke, at the members' meeting of his association in Bonn on 1 December 1966 renewed the demand:

"We must demand of the new government that the competency of employers to make economic decisions should not be limited by laws on extended co-determination because this would considerably weaken the efficiency of the national economy." (*Frankfurter Rundschau*, 2 December 1966)

At the CDU Economic Session, Dr. Hanns Martin Schleyer, deputy chairman of the Federation of Metal Industrialists described trade union co-determination, even in its limited form, as the "club-foot" of West German economic law, which obstructed the international position of the West German economy. (Cf. "Blick durch die Wirtschaft", Frankfurt-on-Main, 27 January 1967)

The Destruction of the Democratic Clauses of the Constitution

The new and extremely dangerous situation which has developed in the Federal Republic becomes particularly apparent in the area of state policy. It is becoming increasingly clear that the ruling circles in West Germany have entered a new phase of reactionary rule, leading towards the further consolidation of their totalitarian system of government and the use of increasingly neo-nazi methods. This transition is expressed in the program of so-called *internal state reform*.

With the foundation of the separatist West German state, an autocratic, anti-democratic regime was installed. It was further consolidated during the past years through a whole series of unconstitutional measures, and the political freedom of the people was increasingly limited. These measures above all include:

- the reintroduction of the notorious political penal code with the "Blitz" Law of 1951,
- the reactionary Factory Constitution Law of 1952,
- the unconstitutional prohibition of the Communist Party of Germany and 200 other democratic organizations,
- the prohibition of the plebiscite against atomic death in 1958,
- the strangling of the people's political freedom through the Association Law of 1964,
- the violation of the Constitution by the seven so-called simple emergency regulations of 1965.

The West German *Nürnberger Nachrichten* of 13 December 1966 with full justification observed:

"An autocratic state had in fact . . . existed even under Adenauer."

The aim of the present so-called internal or state reform, however, is more than the mere continuation of a policy aimed at the gradual undermining of bourgeois-democratic standards and constitutional principles. The issue involved is the installation of a power-mechanism characterized by the *complete* negation of bourgeois-democratic principles and having a neo-nazi feature. The ruling circles of West Germany are today clearly heading towards the annulling of the Constitution in a kind of coup d'état. They intend, as the West German legal scholar, Professor Helmut Ridder underlined, "to accomplish their change of position from democratic Basic Law to an executive emergency constitution". (*Gewerkschaftspost*, Hanover, 1966, No. 9, p. 10)

Statements and opinions published by the bourgeois press clearly sum up an unmistakable program:

"The problem is not only to elect a different chancellor, but the main issue is a great reform of the state to preserve its existence and without which it would inevitably become involved in bankruptcy or inflation or both—as well as in foreign political isolation." (*Rheinischer Merkur*, Coblenz, 18 November 1966)

The Springer paper *Die Welt* of 26 November 1966 expressed it even more clearly:

"Months ago we spoke of the last chance which had been given to Ludwig Erhard. Today we dare, with a glance into a more distant future, to speak of a last chance of the entire parliamentary system in the Federal Republic . . . Forms are not sacrosanct."

The ruling circles in the Federal Republic have left no doubt as to the fact that the "internal state reform" is not a partial measure, but constitutes a whole and cunningly coordinated system. One day after the formation of the Kiesinger/Strauss government, the industrialist paper *Handelsblatt* outlined the main tasks of the "internal state reform":

"They include in the first place the safeguarding of the federal budget for the forthcoming years. They include the financial reform and adaptation of the Basic Law to the requirements of the future, for which it has obviously become inadequate. This includes being aware of the fact that very likely we shall have to renounce some cherished individualism in the provinces and municipalities, if we hope to cope with the problems of the future. This includes finally the transition from a community with differing interests to the unified society of which Erhard had dreamed." (*Handelsblatt*, Düsseldorf, 2–3 December 1966)

Kiesinger summed up the essential aspects of the "internal state reform" in one sentence:

"Above all it is concerned with the stabilization law, the finance constitution, the emergency constitution and

perhaps also with the political party law, which is linked with the election law." (*Handelsblatt*, Düsseldorf, 26 January 1967)

In fact the "internal state reform" includes a whole series of complex processes, each of which in itself entails extremely serious and far-reaching consequences for the West German population, and together will bring about the complete abolition of the existing constitutional order. It comprises in particular:

- the further development of the system of chancellor-dictatorship, linked with a reform of civil service statutes and administrative law;
- the system of economic authorization laws and the so-called great financial and budget reform;
- the penal reform with a sharpened political penal code as its core;
- the system of emergency laws and emergency regulations;
- the electoral reform.

The main protagonist of "internal state reform" is the "strong man" of monopoly capitalism, Minister of Finance Franz-Josef Strauss.

Strauss' press organ, the *Bayern Kurier*, Munich, of 17 December 1966, stated plainly that:

"The union parties are being forced by the new situation to accomplish that internal reform which was for years supported by Bavaria."

In the process of the implementation of the "internal state reform" the Basic Law will inevitably be destroyed. This was not only envisaged by its spokesmen and supporting organizations, it was their clear intention and openly proclaimed.

The *Rheinischer Merkur*, Coblenz, observed on 11 November 1966:

"It simply cannot be ignored that the Federal Republic has grown out of the Basic Law, which arose and originated from an entirely different historical situation than that which prevails today."

The *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* of 10 December 1966 stated:

"Now that there is a large majority, that will be done which requires a large majority: the changing of the Constitution. Thirty alterations of the Basic Law have been mentioned. Federal Chancellor Kiesinger passed on an announcement by Minister of the Interior Lücke: 84 amendments of the Basic Law are to be enacted. Other sources suggested round figures: let it be 100 for the sake of a thorough job."

The federal minister of the interior stated:

"We shall now have to tailor a suit to measure for our Basic Law, which is still in its christening dress . . ." (*Handelsblatt*, Düsseldorf, 26 January 1967)

In the following we shall prove that the dress to be tailored for the Basic Law has another aspect: It is not a made-to-measure suit, but a shroud!

[illegible]

Text of the Constitution	Completed or Planned Destruction of the Constitution	Effects
<p>Art. 4 (Freedom of belief and conscience)</p> <p>(1) The freedom of belief, conscience, religious and ideological confessions is inviolable.</p>	<p>against democratic forces and interests becomes manifest in nearly all laws of the "internal state reform".</p> <p>e.g. civilian service draft (similarly: "Emergency regulation on civilian service"):</p> <p style="text-align: center;">§ 12</p> <p>(1) Entitled to civilian services are those to whom the recruiting authorities assign civilian service recruits. Such recruits may only be assigned to superiors or employers fulfilling tasks as according to § 3, section 1.</p> <p>Undermined by:</p> <p>Association Law of 5 August 1964.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">§ 2</p> <p>(2) Associations in the terms of this law exclude . . .</p> <p>3. Religious communities and associations pursuing the joint cultivation of an ideology . . .</p> <p>Official substantiation: An association which, on the basis of a philosophy seeks to transform state, society and constitutional order . . . thereby forfeits the character of an ideological community and becomes a political association. (See <i>Bundestagsdrucksache</i> IV 430, p. 11)</p>	<p>"Equality before the law" is replaced by the division of federal German society into workers under compulsory work orders and capitalist "work leaders" authorized to prosecute all refusals of service (see Art. 9, section 3 to the Constitution)</p> <p>This further outlaws the scientific ideology of the working class, in continuation of the unconstitutional prohibition of the CP. It can be suppressed with the aid of ban authorizations against associations, parties, meetings, opinions etc., and be prosecuted for all forms of democratic avowals (see Art. 9)</p>
<p>Art. 5 (freedom of opinion)</p> <p>(1) Everyone has the right to express his opinions in word, writing and visual form and to spread them and to freely instruct themselves from all generally accessible sources.</p> <p>The freedom of the press and the freedom of reporting by radio and film are guaranteed. Censorship does not take place.</p>	<p>Abolition by: emergency constitution (<i>Bundestagsdrucksache</i> IV/3494)</p> <p style="text-align: center;">§ 115d</p> <p>(2) By virtue of the federal law</p> <p>(a) the freedom of reporting may be limited for the duration of the state of extreme danger regardless of the rights according to Art. 5, section 1, clause 1 and 3 and section 2 of that provision, in as far as the spreading and publication of information is involved, which concerns the external or interior security of the Federal Republic of Germany or that of a state allied with it, or which are apt to disturb measures of defence against the danger.</p> <p>Abolition by: emergency regulation on information services.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">§ 2</p> <p>The production and diffusion of leaflets and pamphlets is prohibited.</p>	<p>This must be considered as an authorization to suppress all undesired opinions and expressions of opinion.</p> <p>The "emergency regulation on the information service abolishes the freedom of information and restores fascist uniform propaganda.</p>

Text of the Constitution	Completed or Planned Destruction of the Constitution	Effects
	<p>§ 5</p> <p>The sponsors of broadcasts are obliged to emit joint programs on the instructions of the federal government or the competent authority appointed by it.</p>	
<p>Art. 8 (freedom of assembly)</p> <p>(1) All Germans have the right to assemble peacefully and without arms, without prior notification or permission.</p> <p>(2) Assemblies in the open air may be prevented only by law.</p>	<p>Abolition by: emergency constitution</p> <p>Art. 91 (interior emergency)</p> <p>(4) In the events of section 1 or 2 legal provisions valid for assemblies in closed rooms may be applied also to assemblies in the open air as under Art. 8, section 2, in as far as this is required by defence against danger.</p> <p>Art. 115d (external emergency)</p> <p>(2) By virtue of the federal law ... assemblies in closed rooms may become subject to the regulations under Art. 8, section 2, for assemblies in the open air.</p>	<p>The aim of the destruction of that constitutional law in particular consists in destroying from the start the "revolt against war" (Jaspers) by means of central bans of meetings and demonstrations (coupled with police and armed forces violence—see Art. 91 of the WG Constitution)</p> <p>The envisaged authorizations would introduce a general obligation to obtain police permission.</p>
<p>Art. 9 (freedom of association)</p> <p>(1) All Germans have the right to form associations and societies.</p> <p>(2) Associations the purposes or activities of which infringe against the criminal code or directed against the constitutional order or against the idea of international understanding are prohibited.</p>	<p>Abolition by: emergency constitution</p> <p>Art. 115d</p> <p>(2) By virtue of the Federal law ... in deviation from Art. 9, section 1, the joining or uniting in associations also of unofficial character may be ordered, and apart from Art. 9, section 2, associations endangering the interior and external security of the German Federal Republic or its relations with an allied state, may be prohibited or limited in their freedom of activity...</p> <p>Abolition by: emergency regulation on security measures</p>	<p>The draft emergency constitution in connection with the "emergency regulation on security measures" provides that the West German Minister of the Interior may prohibit and prosecute the members of all organizations opposing the official policy of Bonn, even without their committing an "offence against the constitutional order."</p>
	<p>§ 28</p> <p>In the event of an emergency the Federal Minister of the Interior may temporarily prohibit associations, which by their purpose, activities or the conduct of their adherents considerably disturb or jeopardize the interior and external security of the Federal Republic.</p>	
<p>Art. 9 sect. 3 (freedom of association)</p> <p>The right to form associations for the protection and advancement of working and economic conditions is guaranteed to everyone and to all trades. Provisions limiting this right or striving to obstruct it are null and void, measures directed towards that aim are unlawful.</p>	<p>Abolition by: emergency constitution, civilian service draft bill, association law, civilian guards law, draft 8 of the modification of the penal code, e.g., civilian service draft bill:</p> <p>§ 29</p> <p>(1) The recruit is obliged to fulfil to the</p>	<p>Numerous juridical instruments are being prepared in this connection to exclude the trade unions as the most powerful political factor of the defence of democracy, and to deprive the workers of their most effective weapon—the right to strike.</p> <p>The scale of provisions to that effect</p>

Text of the Constitution	Completed or Planned Destruction of the Constitution	Effects
	<p>best of his ability the tasks entrusted to him by his civilian service superior, and also to take upon himself dangers as far as this is possible.</p>	<p>ranges from the civilian service obligation of strikers to a prohibition of the trade unions (§ 16 Association Law) the employment of civilian guards as stooges and the institution of mass trials against strikers on the charge of "seditious sabotage", to the proclamation of strikes as "illegal" and in a state of "interior emergency" justifying the use of police and army violence against strikers.</p>
	<p style="text-align: center;">§ 63</p> <p>(2) Civilian service recruits leaving their place of service or work without due authorization or staying away with intent to permanently evade civilian service, shall be punished by terms of imprisonment or detention up to two years or by a fine.</p> <p>(3) Civilian service recruits persistently refusing without valid reasons to fulfil services required of them, shall be punished by imprisonment up to one year or a fine.</p>	
<p>Art. 10 (Letter and postal secrecy)</p> <p>The secrecy of letters, postal and telecommunications is inviolable. Limitations may only be imposed by virtue of relevant laws.</p>	<p>Abolition by: draft of the modification of the Basic Law (<i>Bundestagsdrucksache</i> IV/2633)</p> <p>Art. I</p> <p>Art. 10 will have the following clauses 3 and 4:</p> <p>"the law may determine that no communication be made even to those concerned in limitations imposed for the protection of the free, democratic constitutional order, of the existence and security of the Federation or a province, or in defence or prosecution of serious offences ...</p>	<p>The postal supervision law planned by the Bonn government is to "legalize" the unconstitutional telephone and letter spying.</p> <p>In the meantime the Bonn government, in a statement by Lücke, demanded that the instructions on the supervision of postal and telecommunications should be entrusted to the hands of a Minister (Cf. <i>Der Spiegel</i>, Hamburg, 9 May 1966)</p>
<p>Art. 11 (freedom of movement)</p> <p>(1) All Germans have the right to free movement throughout the whole of the Federal Republic.</p> <p>(2) This right may only be limited by force of a law and only in cases where adequate foundations for subsistence do not prevail and great burdens would thus arise for the community, and where required for the protection of youth against delinquency, to combat the danger of epidemics, or to guard against punishable offences.</p>	<p>Undermined by: emergency constitution</p> <p>Art. 91</p> <p>(4) in cases of section 1 or 2, legal provisions in as far as required by the defence against dangers ... may confine the freedom of movement beyond the scope envisaged under Art. 11, section 2.</p> <p>Draft law on the regulation of residence (<i>Bundestagsdrucksache</i> IV/895)</p>	<p>In the event of an "interior emergency" the Bonn government is planning to confine the freedom of movement with a view to being able to check a "populace movement".</p> <p>The law on the regulation of residence provides the federal government with a general authorization to confine and abolishing the freedom of movement under the pretext of safeguarding "defensive readiness".</p>
	<p style="text-align: center;">§ 1</p> <p>(1) To protect the civilian population against the effects of offensive weapons, or for the maintenance or speeding up of defence, the free choice of residence will be limited according to the following provisions.</p>	

Text of the Constitution	Completed or Planned Destruction of the Constitution	Effects
<p>Art. 12 (free choice of career)</p> <p>(1) All Germans have the right to freely select their occupations, places of work and training institution. The practice of professions may be regulated by laws.</p> <p>(2) No one may be forced to do specific work, except within the framework of a traditional, general and universally applicable public service obligation.</p>	<p>Abolition by: emergency constitution and civilian service draft bill.</p> <p>Emergency constitution: Art. 12</p> <p>(2) No one may be forced to do specific work, except within the framework of a traditional, general and universally applicable public service obligation. For purposes of defence an additional civilian service obligation outside of military service within the sphere of the public administration and the armed forces is admissible. In the non-official sphere such service, apart from training courses, may only be demanded during a state of external danger, or if the federal government establishes, in accordance with Art. 53a, section 3, that this is necessary for the establishment or maintenance of preparation for defence or in protection of and for the supply of the civilian population.</p>	<p>The free choice of the place of work and the right to strike are replaced by forced labour regulations, according to the nazi example. This stipulates the total control of labour, income, freedom of physical movement, health and life of West German citizens. Civilian service obligations are to be authorized for the "purpose of defence" or for "the protection and supply of the population". This expressly makes the obligation for civilian services independent of the "condition of external danger" and only dependent on the consideration of the federal government, which may decree relevant legal regulations independently of the Bundestag.</p>
<p>(3) Women may not be obliged by law to serve in the armed forces. They may under no circumstances be used for armed military service.</p>	<p>(3) Men may be recruited for frontier guard service from the end of their eighteenth year.</p> <p>(4) Women may not be recruited against their will for civilian service in the armed forces.</p> <p>(5) Women may under no circumstances be used for armed military service.</p>	<p>The amendment of Art. 12, section 3 practically introduces conscription of women for service in the armed forces.</p>
<p>Art. 13 (Inviolability of the home)</p> <p>(1) The dwelling is inviolable.</p> <p>(2) Searches should only be instituted by a judge, with danger of default also by other organs provided in the law and carried out in the form therein stated.</p> <p>(3) Interference and curtailment should only take place for defence against a common danger or a mortal danger to individual persons, on the basis of a law to combat a pressing danger to public safety and order, especially for the elimination of lack of space, for combating the danger of epidemics or for the protection of endangered youth.</p>	<p>Undermined especially through security laws, Protective Building Law, Self-protection Law and the draft of the law for the regulation of sojourn, e.g., the Economy Security Law:</p> <p style="text-align: center;">§ 31</p> <p>The basic right of the inviolability of the home (Art. 13 of the Constitution) has been curtailed under the terms of this law.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">§ 19</p> <p>(3) The person commissioned by competent authorities with collecting information, has the right to enter the premises or business place of the person obliged to give information, to carry out investigations and inspections ... and to inspect his business records</p>	<p>Curtailement of the inviolability of the home is possible through both the extension of the police search warrant, through considerable control rights of the emergency institutions, as well as the evacuation powers of the federal government (§ 4 draft of the law for the regulation of sojourn)</p>

Text of the Constitution	Completed or Planned Destruction of the Constitution	Effects
<p>Art. 14 (Property, law of succession, and expropriation)</p> <p>(1) Property and the right of succession are guaranteed. Content and limitation are defined by the law.</p> <p>(2) Property-owning entails duty. Its use should simultaneously serve the welfare of all.</p> <p>(3) Expropriation is only permissible in the interest of all. It should only take place through legislation or on the basis of a law, which decides the kind and amount of compensation. Compensation must be fixed in the just interest of society and the parties concerned. In case of disagreement over the amount of the compensation, recourse to the law courts is open.</p>	<p>Curtailment through: Emergency constitution Art. 115d, section 2.</p> <p>Through federal legislation it is possible, ... in case of expropriation, departing from Art. 14, section 3, clause 2, temporarily to arrange compensation and its final specification can be reserved for a later settlement, which must be concluded by the end of the second year after the conditions of external danger no longer exist. Further undermining through security laws, Self-protection Law, Protective Building Law, draft of the law for the regulation of sojourn, the Association Law, and "emergency decree for measures in the field of property and transport tax" e.g., Transport Security Law:</p>	<p>Here a far-reaching curtailment of the citizens' right of ownership, including his claims to compensation, is being prepared in the interest of the aggressive planning. Numerous tamperings with the right of ownership, including the power to dispose of private vehicles, tax increase, the seizure of the property of ostensible "unconstitutional" organizations and parties, are contained in numerous laws and emergency decrees of the emergency legislation for the purpose of all-round militarization.</p>
<p>Art. 18 (Forfeiture of basic rights)</p> <p>Whoever misuses the freedom of expression (Art. 5, section 1) especially the freedom of the press, freedom of instruction (Art. 5, section 3) freedom of assembly (Art. 8) freedom of association (Art. 9) the secrecy of letters, post and telecommunications (Art. 10), property (Art. 14) or the right of sanctuary (Art. 16, section 2) to fight against the free and democratic order, forfeits these basic rights. The forfeiture and its extent are pronounced by the Federal Constitutional Court.</p>	<p>§ 15</p> <p>(1) The owner, holder and driver of vehicles may be bound to transport to a definite place and to use a definite route. The law can also be extended to mean that additional fuel and spare parts must be brought along. Further, the owner can be forced to leave the vehicle at the place mentioned and only use it in a specified area.</p>	<p>Instead of the jurisdiction of the Federal Constitutional Court for the forfeiture of basic rights, the "internal state reform" has effected the executive and legal destruction of basic rights through press censorship, terroristic penalizing of opinion, prohibition of assembly and association, post and telephone control, etc.</p>
<p>Art. 19 (Curtailment of basic rights)</p> <p>(2) In no case may the essential content of a basic right be tempered with.</p>		<p>The "internal state reform" especially the emergency laws not only affect the essential content of the basic rights, but aims at formally and practically annulling them.</p>

Text of the Constitution	Completed or Planned Destruction of the Constitution	Effects
SECTION II THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC AND THE PROVINCES		
<p>Art. 20 (Democratic Constitution)</p> <p>(1) The Federal Republic of Germany is a democratic and social federal state.</p> <p>(2) All state power derives from the people. It is exercised by the people in elections and polls and through special legislative, executive and judicial organs.</p> <p>(3) Legislation is bound to constitutional order, the executive power and the administration of justice are bound to law and right.</p>	<p>Undermined by all the laws of the "internal state reform"</p>	<p>The concentration of all the power in the hands of the financial oligarchy and the whole policy of the state monopoly ruling system is in sharp contradiction to the basic principles of the Constitution. This contradiction has come to a head with the "internal state reform".</p> <p>The sovereign people from whom "all power" derives, have become the object of state force.</p>
<p>Art. 21 (Political parties)</p> <p>(1) The parties cooperate in carrying out the political will of the people. They can be freely formed. Their internal organization must accord with democratic principles. They must openly account for the origin of their resources.</p> <p>(2) Parties, which according to their aims or the behaviour of their members disturb the free democratic order for the purpose of destroying it or to endanger the existence of the Federal Republic, are unconstitutional. The question of unconstitutionality is decided by the Federal Constitutional Court.</p>	<p>Undermined through: Draft law of parties (<i>Bundestag Drucksache V/1339</i>); especially §§ 2, 17, 24, 31 and 33.</p> <p>In addition, another change of the Basic Law announced by Gerstenmaier proposes unlimited state financing of the parties accepted by West German monopoly capitalists.</p>	<p>With the help of the law on parties, the consolidation of the West German party oligarchy as well as the further development of the parties and party leaderships into an instrument of monopoly is to be completed within the framework of the "internal state reform". The party law will cement the illegal prohibition of the Communist Party of Germany and create barriers to the formation and existence of democratic parties.</p>
<p>Art. 25 (International law, a component of federal law)</p> <p>The general principles of international law are integral parts of federal law. They have direct precedence over the law, rights and duties of the inhabitants of the federal territory.</p>	<p>The emergency law which creates a perfect legal situation for the preparation of an aggressive war represents a flagrant violation of the general principles of international law and therefore of Art. 25.</p>	
<p>Art. 26 (Prohibition of aggressive war)</p> <p>(1) Actions which are undertaken with the aim of disturbing the peaceful co-existence of peoples, especially preparation to wage an aggressive war, are unconstitutional. They are punishable.</p>	<p>It is in irreconcilable contradiction to the constitutional demand for the safeguarding of peace according to Art. 26.</p>	<p>The constitutional provision of Art. 26, section 1, clause 2, the punishment of acts which endanger peace remains unfulfilled to this day.</p>
<p>Art. 28 (Communal self-administration)</p> <p>(1) The constitutional order in the provinces must accord with the principles of the republican, democratic and social state.</p> <p>In the provinces, regions and municipalities, the people must have representation which results from free, secret, and universal elections.</p>	<p>Destroyed through: stabilization law, finance reform, emergency constitution and emergency decree e.g. emergency decree on the administration of the Federal Republic:</p> <p>Art. 1</p> <p>(1) The provinces, communities, and local associations as well as persons with legal and public rights are under</p>	<p>With the stabilization law and the planned finance reform, communal self-government will be financially undermined.</p> <p>Through the emergency laws the communities will become mere receivers of orders from the Bonn central leadership without any political rights of their own.</p>

Text of the Constitution	Completed or Planned Destruction of the Constitution	Effects
<p>In the communities the meeting of the local authority can function instead of the communal assembly.</p> <p>(2) The communities must be ensured the right of handling all affairs of the local community within the framework of the law and on their own responsibility. The community associations also have the rights of self-administration within the limits of their legal functions and in keeping with the law.</p>	<p>the authority of the Federation for all measures which are determined to protect the Federal Republic of Germany from external danger (defence matters).</p> <p>Art. 3</p> <p>(1) In defence matters in the communities and communal associations, the leading administrative officers replace the constitutionally envisaged organs.</p> <p>Art. 4</p> <p>In defence matters no cooperation of the legal bodies in the provinces is required. The same is true of all related representatives and committees of the provinces, communities, community associations and other persons connected with public law.</p>	
<p>SECTION III: THE BUNDESTAG</p>		
<p>Art. 38 (Elections)</p> <p>(1) The members of the German Bundestag are elected in general, free, direct, universal and secret elections. They are the representatives of all the people, are not bound by orders and instructions and are answerable only to their own conscience.</p>	<p>Planned changes in the Constitution:</p> <p>Art. 38</p> <p>(1) The members of the German Bundestag shall be elected in general, direct, free, universal and secret elections according to the principles of the relative majority of votes.</p>	<p>The planned inclusion of the relative majority vote in the Constitution means, the complete reversal of the principle of the peoples' sovereignty and the position of the parties as stated in the Constitution. It runs counter to the principle of equality and party freedom (Art. 21, section 1)</p>
<p>Art. 39 (meetings and the election period)</p> <p>(1) The Bundestag shall be elected for four years. Its electoral life ends four years after the first meeting or with its dissolution.</p> <p>The new elections shall take place in the last quarter of the election period, or in the case of dissolution, after sixty days at the latest.</p>	<p>Planned changes in the Constitution:</p> <p>Art. 39</p> <p>(1) The Bundestag shall be elected for a period of five years. Its electoral life ends five years after the first sitting or upon its dissolution.</p>	<p>The extension of the legislative period of the Bundestag to five years, must be regarded as measure to stabilize the system of state monopoly rule.</p>
<p>Art. 40 (president and rules)</p> <p>Art. 41 (security)</p> <p>Art. 42 (discussion, majority principle)</p> <p>Art. 43 (presence of the federal government)</p> <p>Art. 44 (committee of inquiry)</p> <p>Art. 45 (standing committee)</p> <p>Art. 45a (committees for foreign affairs and defence)</p> <p>Art. 45b (Commissioner of the armed forces to the Bundestag)</p> <p>Art. 46 (indemnity and immunity of members)</p>	<p>Undermined through: emergency constitution</p> <p>Art.115e</p> <p>(1) The Bundestag can, with the agreement of the Federal Council, empower the joint committee to pass laws including those as in</p> <p>Art. 115d, sections 1 and 2 (emergency laws)...</p> <p>If the joint committee concludes that the immediate meeting of the Bundestag faces insurmountable hindrances or that it is incapable of making a decision, then the joint committee can pass laws without being empowered...</p>	<p>The article of the Constitution which determines the rights of the members of the Bundestag is subject to a far-reaching reactionary change in the Constitution, on the authority of the so-called emergency parliament. "The joint committee" replaces the Bundestag and thereby nullifies the whole of section III of the Bonn Constitution.</p>

Text of the Constitution	Completed or Planned Destruction of the Constitution	Effects
SECTION IV: THE FEDERAL COUNCIL		
Art. 50 (Function) Through the Federal Council the provinces cooperate in the administration of justice and in the running of the federation.	Undermined through: emergency constitution Art. 115e (5) As long as the joint committee is authorized to pass emergency laws it can also assume the rights of the Bundestag as long as nothing else is provided in this section . . . New additions through: Draft of the emergency constitution.	Cooperative function of the provinces in the administration of justice and the running of the Federation through the Federal Council will be removed by the regulations on the "emergency parliament." (Cf. also Art. 80, section 2 of the Federal Basic Law)
	Art. 53a The joint committee is made up of the following; two-thirds of members of the Bundestag and one-third of members of the Federal Council. The members are decided by the Bundestag according to the principles of proportional elections and in keeping with the proportional strength of the groups. They should not belong to the Federal government. Every province will be represented by a member of the Federal Council proposed by it; this member is not bound by instructions.	Art. 53 a The emergency parliament has the function of the pretence of a parliamentary control over the emergency dictatorship, without touching the effective dictatorial powers of the federal government.
SECTION VII: FEDERAL LEGISLATION		
Art. 70 (Legislation of the Federation and the provinces) (1) The provinces have legislative rights, in so far as this Basic Law does not give the Federation legislative authority.	Undermined through: emergency constitution Art. 115d (1) The Federation has the right of competitive legislation even in areas which are within the legislative competency of the provinces. Art. 91, section 3, gives the Federation the same rights in case of "internal emergency".	Through the changes in the Constitution the provinces will lose their legislative competence in case of "internal and external emergency".
Art. 77 (Process of the adoption of laws) (1) Federal laws are adopted by the Bundestag . . .	New additions through: emergency constitution Art. 53a (2) The federal government submits the draft of a law, which it considers must be passed if a state of external danger arises, before the joint committee for its assent. It informs the joint committee of the plans upon which the draft of the law is based.	With this, the supreme legislative power of the Bundestag is transferred to a small group of Bunker parliamentarians and even these can be eliminated if the ruling class considers it necessary.

Text of the Constitution	Completed or Planned Destruction of the Constitution	Effects
<p>Art. 79 (Amendments to the Constitution)</p> <p>(1) The Constitution can be amended only by a law which expressly changes or adds to the wording . . .</p> <p>(2) Such a law requires the agreement of two-thirds of the members of the Bundestag and two-thirds of the votes of the Federal Council.</p> <p>(3) Amendments to this Constitution which affect the division of the Federation into provinces, the basic cooperation of the provinces in legislation, or the principles laid down in Arts. 1 and 20, are not permissible.</p>	<p>(3) . . . participation of the joint committee is not required when its immediate meeting faces insurmountable difficulties or when it is incapable of decision in a situation which demands immediate action.</p> <p>The emergency constitution will basically change not only Art. 77, but the whole of section VII of the West German Constitution on legislation (9th Article).</p>	<p>In every area, the emergency laws mean an attack on the federal state and the rights of the provinces. It violates the principle of popular sovereignty (cf. Art. 20), and human rights to a considerable extent. (Cf. Art. 1)</p>
<p>Art. 80 (Enactment of legal decrees)</p> <p>(1) By law the federal government, a federal minister, or the government of a province can be empowered to enact legal decrees. The content, extent and purpose of the enacted decree must be included in the law.</p>	<p>Extension through: the emergency constitution</p> <p>Art. 115e, section 4</p> <p>(4) If the immediate meeting of the joint committee is faced with insurmountable difficulties or is incapable of decision and if the situation demands immediate action, then the federal government has the power of temporarily ordering that steps be taken in defence against the danger, which is included in a bill assented to by the joint committee in accordance with Art. 53a, section 2.</p>	<p>Art. 115 e empowers the federal government to enact emergency decrees, in supersession of the constitutionally elected organs and in contradiction to the criteria contained in Art. 80.</p>
<p>SECTION VIII: IMPLEMENTATION OF FEDERAL LEGISLATION AND FEDERAL ADMINISTRATION</p>	<p>Changes through: emergency constitution</p> <p>Art. 115d (2) Through federal legislation . . .</p> <p>d) The administration and financial system of the federation and the provinces can be regulated for the duration of the state of external danger.</p> <p>The regulation may deviate from VIII and Articles 108 to 115.</p>	<p>With this, the emergency constitution –as well as the various emergency laws– aims at a strict bureaucratic centralization based on the example of the Nazi state.</p>
<p>Art. 83 (principle of Provincial administration)</p> <p>The Provinces implement federal laws as their own affair, in so far as this Basic Law does not provide for or permit otherwise.</p> <p>Art. 84 (Provincial administration and federal supervision)</p> <p>Art. 85 (Administration of the provinces on behalf of the Federation)</p>		

Text of the Constitution	Completed or Planned Destruction of the Constitution	Effects
	<p>New additions through: the great finance reform which is planned.</p> <p>Art. 85a (Community tasks)</p> <p>(1) In the fulfilment of state tasks, which are to be carried out by the provinces, the Federation and the Provinces work together, if the tasks are important for the whole and require long-term collective planning (Community tasks).</p> <p>(2) Federal legislation with the agreement of the Federal Council, decides which tasks are community tasks. The law should contain general principles for the fulfilment of the tasks.</p> <p>The federal government and the Federal Council present the plans and directives for the fulfilment of the community tasks, through coordinated decisions.</p> <p>(3) The federal government exercises supervision to see that the federal laws, plans and directives are observed. To this end it can demand a report. Article 84, section 4 is accordingly valid.</p>	<p>Even before the coming into force of the emergency posers—that is, for normal times—the Bonn government is striving for the complete regulation extending to the smallest communities.</p>
<p>Art. 91 (Defence against dangers to the existence of the Federation)</p> <p>(1) For defence against the threat of danger to the existence or the free democratic order of the Federation or of a province, a province can demand police support from other provinces.</p> <p>(2) If the province threatened by danger is unprepared to combat the danger or incapable of combating it, the federal government can place the police of that province and the police force of other provinces under its authority.</p> <p>The order is to be lifted after the danger has been eliminated, or at any time that the Federal Council requests it.</p>	<p>Changes through: the emergency constitution.</p> <p>New formulation of Art. 91</p> <p>(1) For defence against the threat of danger to the existence or the free democratic order of the Federation or of a province, a province can demand police support from other provinces as well as forces of the federal frontier police.</p> <p>If these police forces are not enough, the federal government can provide the provincial government with military forces to be used as police forces with the agreement of the Federal Council.</p> <p>(2) If the province, threatened by danger is unprepared to combat the danger or incapable of combating it, then in so far as it is necessary to combat the danger, the federal government can assume control over the police force in that province or in other provinces as well as claim all the appropriate rights in all questions affecting the combating of the danger over the competent provincial administration, as in Article 85, sections 3 and 4 . . .</p> <p>In so far as it is necessary for combating the danger, the federal govern-</p>	<p>Art. 91, which governs the “internal emergency”, has been infinitely extended. In case of “internal disturbance” (for example political strikes), the federal government would be empowered to employ the whole police, federal frontier forces, and Bundeswehr against the people. They possess a strict right of instruction over all provincial officials.</p>

Text of the Constitution	Completed or Planned Destruction of the Constitution	Effects
<p>SECTION IX: THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE</p> <p>Art. 92 (Court organization) The administration of justice is entrusted to the judges; it is exercised through the Federal Constitutional Court, the Federal Supreme Court, the federal courts envisaged in the Basic Law and the courts of the provinces.</p> <p>Art. 101 (Prohibition of emergency courts) (1) Emergency courts are not permissible. No one should be deprived of his judgement before the law. (2) Courts for special fields can only be constituted by law.</p> <p>Art. 104 (Guarantee of rights when under arrest) (1) The freedom of an individual can only be curtailed by a formal law. (2) Only the judge can decide on the admissibility and duration of detention. For every detention which is not based on legal decree, a legal decision must forthwith be made. The police may detain no one for more than one day after taking him into custody... (3) Every person temporarily arrested on suspicion of having committed a punishable act must be brought before the judge one day after the arrest at the latest.</p> <p>SECTION X: THE FINANCIAL SYSTEM</p>	<p>ment can also employ the federal frontier forces and the army as police forces.</p> <p>Replaced by: the planned emergency decree on measures in the field of the administration of justice.</p> <p>Planned repeal through: the emergency decree on measures in the field of the administration of justice.</p> <p>§ 4 If the competent judge is legally or actually prevented from acting, then a judge of the same legal branch who is nearest or, if such a judge is not available, one from another legal branch, who can be most easily reached is competent in the case of urgent legal action.</p> <p>Changes through: the emergency constitution Art. 115 d (2) through federal law c) Detentions can be instituted for the duration of the state of external danger, departing from Art. 104, section 2, clause 3 and section 3, clause 1, which, however, should not exceed one week.</p> <p>With the planned financial reform, at least 10 changes in the Constitution will be undertaken and they radically alter the present Constitution. The following articles are slated for change—105, 106, 107, 108, 109 and 113.</p>	<p>With the emergency decree, the court structure defined by the Basic Law, and the Court Constitution Law has been changed in accordance with the wishes of the emergency regime. The result of the change is the formation of special courts based on the example of the nazis.</p> <p>The emergency decree supports a state of emergency which is prohibited by the Basic Law.</p> <p>The basic legal time limit for a police arrest and for the granting of a warrant of arrest have been nullified. (Cf. remarks on Art. 2)</p>

Text of the Constitution	Completed or Planned Destruction of the Constitution	Effects
<p>Art. 105 (Customs, monopolies, taxation legislation)</p> <p>.....</p> <p>(2) The Federation has the right of competitive legislation on</p> <p>1. the excise duty and transportation taxes with the exception of locally conditioned spheres, especially the purchase tax, the increment value tax and the fire protection tax, ... if it should claim the taxes as a whole or in part to off-set federal expenditure, or if the prerequisites of Art. 72, section 2 exist.</p>	<p>Art. 105</p> <p>(2) The Federation has the right of competitive legislation on</p> <p>1. the exise duty and transportation taxes if it claims the taxes as a whole or in part to offset federal expenditure or if the prerequisites of Article 72, section 2 exist.</p>	<p>Through the deletion in section 2, subparagraph 1, the Federation obtains additional legislative competence in the field of taxation with locally conditioned spheres of activity.</p>
<p>Art. 106 (Sources of taxation and tax yield)</p> <p>Art. 107 (financial equalization)</p> <p>Art. 108 (financial administration)</p>	<p>These articles are also to be changed as a consequence of the great financial reform.</p>	<p>The new formulation aims at the redistribution of financial means and the changing of competences in the field of tax administration in the sense of a stronger centralization. They thus run counter to the federal system set forth in the Basic Law.</p>
<p>Art. 109 (Separation of the budgets of the Federation and the provinces)</p> <p>Federation and provinces are independent from each other in their budget management.</p>	<p>Changes through:</p> <p>law planned to alter the basic laws of 2 September 1966 (Bundestagsdrucksache V/890)</p> <p>Art. 109</p> <p>(1) The Federation and provinces are independent of one another in their budget economics.</p> <p>(2) The Federation and provinces must, in their budget economy, make allowance for the requirements of the total economic balance.</p> <p>(3) To avert dangers for the total economic balance, directions on the kind and extent of the public indebtedness can be issued through legal decree of the federal government.</p>	<p>The so-called stabilization law with its sharp intervention in the finances of the provinces and communities is based on this planned amendment of the Basic Law.</p>
<p>Art. 113 (Consent of the federal government to decisions of financial importance)</p> <p>Decisions of the Bundestag and the Federal Council (Bundesrat) which increase the budget expenditures proposed by the federal government or include new or future expenditures need the consent of the federal government.</p>	<p>Planned change through:</p> <p>the Great Financial Reform</p> <p>Art. 113</p> <p>Decisions of the Bundestag and the Federal Council which increase or renew the budget expenditures proposed by the federal government, include present or future expenditures, need the consent of the federal government. The same applies to decisions concerning decrease of revenues. Instead of granting or rejecting its consent, the federal government can demand that the Bundestag or the Federal Council make a new decision.</p>	<p>With this change the financial sovereignty of the parliament would be entirely passed to the executive.</p>

To sum up:

The total volume of the "internal state reform" laws which directly change the Constitution embraces about 50 per cent of the original text of West German Basic Law.

In addition to the direct revision of 30 articles of the Constitution announced by Lücke, the "internal state reform" laws changing the Constitution insert 17 new articles into the Basic Law and directly revise 59 existing articles.

Moreover, the bourgeois-democratic principles of the West German Basic Law are undermined and partly destroyed through many regulations of so-called simple laws and emergency regulations inherent in the "internal state reform".

On the Road to the Chancellor's Total Dictatorship

The drastic revisions of the constitutional system are intended to give the financial oligarchy the pretence of legality in its drive to concentrate all state power into the hands of the chancellor and create a modernized version of the nazi Führer state.

For this reason the parliamentary system, which has long since been undermined by an unscrupulous power policy of the ruling upper classes and reduced to a sham democracy, has been openly attacked since the proclamation of the CDU plan of the "formed" rule. A chancellor's dictatorship is frankly advocated under slogans of the "new technique of governing" and a "reform of parliamentarism".

In March 1966 the (West) German Industrial and Commercial Congress had already openly declared the system of parliamentary democracy to be outdated and demanded its "adaptation" to the "formed" rule of the monopolies. The aim of such an adaptation was expressly formulated as a

"strengthening of the power of the federal chancellor within the federal government and in regard to parliament" (*Die Welt*, Hamburg, 2 March 1966).

But Erhard proved to be incapable, in the opinion of the ruling imperialist circles, of implementing this reactionary course with the necessary force. The big bourgeois Handelsblatt cynically wrote on 2 and 3 December 1966 that Erhard, with regard to the chancellor's dictatorship had

"the correct conception of the aim but not the knowledge of the methods which are necessary for its establishment. This task seems to us to be decisive".

The first months of Kiesinger's chancellorship furnish the irrefutable evidence that, as solicitor of the monopolists and pace-maker for Franz-Josef Strauss, he unscrupulously presses for a system of a totalitarian chancellor's dictatorship which revives the nazi Führer state in its essential features. It was officially stated in the Springer paper *Die Welt* of 25 January 1967, that

under Kiesinger the so-called directive competence of the chancellor according to Article 65 of the Basic Law that the chancellor determines the directives of policy, is to be used as the "most important leading political function".

The Federal Chancellery—the Modernized Reich Chancellery

The new factor in the situation in the Federal Republic is that this obvious parallelism with the Hitler state is no longer even covered up. In an article written by an influential official of the Federal Chancellery, the concrete program of the further extension of this office as commanding and guiding centre of the federal chancellor, is explained as a "continuity of representation" (!) of the tasks and organization of the Hitler Reich Chancellery, and it is stated emphatically:

"After the setting up of the Federal Republic and the election of the first federal chancellor, the Reich Chancellery again revived under the name of Federal Chancellery." (*Die Welt*, Hamburg, 25 January 1967)

In recent years the Federal Chancellery was already extended into a power centre—along with the increasing concentration of the power of the federal chancellor—which prepares the decisions of the chancellor, co-ordinates and controls the work of the ministries and other state organs and functions as a connecting link with the monopolies. In this way the Federal Chancellery developed into a "government within the government", although nothing is said about this in the Basic Law.

But the organization and structure of this power centre, which is inaccessible to any public control, still proves to be insufficient for the realization of a total chancellor's dictatorship of a neo-nazi character.

Therefore, *Die Welt* of 25 January 1967 demanded the adaptation of this instrument to a new stage of reactionary power through the "transformation of the Federal Chancellery into a civil general staff".

For this purpose the formation of a planning staff as a "leading political instrument" of the chancellor is particularly envisaged, whose tasks should "include the essential political and administrative fields". (*Frankfurter Rundschau*, 7 January 1967)

The *Nürnberger Nachrichten* of 18 January 1967 stated that the chancellor should be authorized

"to determine the directives of policy in quite a new style. The chancellor's planning staff as a by-product of the Big Coalition can lead to a structural weakening of all ministerial posts in relation to the federal chancellor. Possibly this planning staff was created for the special purpose of confining the manoeuvrability of the SPD ministers in an elegant way and yet make it easier for them to stick to the point."

The more severe centralization of the secret services and the Press and Information Office in the Chancellery also serve the creation of the "civil general staff". The

three secret services—the Federal Intelligence Service, the Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution and the Military Screening Service—had already come together here in the Federal Chancellery. The Federal Intelligence Service (Gehlen secret service), directly subordinated to the chief of the Federal Chancellery, is the espionage organization of the Bonn government. The chairman of the so-called committee for security questions relies on the combination of these three secret services of the top leadership, and sees to it that the Bonn espionage and spy services “synchronize” according to the directions of the chancellor.

Now efforts are made for a further centralization and coordination of the subversive and underground work of the secret services in the Federal Chancellery. For this purpose the Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution and the Military Screening Service are also to be subordinated directly to the Kiesinger “planning staff”, in addition to the press and information office.

Full of alarm concerning this development, the West German clergyman Herbert Mochalski wrote:

“The chancellor, ‘above the parties’, the protector and preserver of the state—with the help of three secret services and a propaganda headquarter!”

“The conception is not new. It was designed and advocated by Carl Schmitt who, in 1932 defended the liquidation of the republican-social democratic stronghold of Prussia through the coup d’état of Herr von Papen. He used ‘juridical’ arguments in his defence before the state court and was the chief legal ideologist of the ‘Third Reich’.” (*Die Tat*, Frankfurt-on-Main, 7 January 1967)

This nazi “jurist” Professor Carl Schmitt, former Prussian Privy Councillor and president of the national socialist Academy of German Law, co-author and commentator of the nazi Reich governorship law of 7 April 1933, spokesman of the theory of the “total state”, “Folk conceptions of the state” and editor of nazi periodicals, today belongs to the circle of Kiesinger’s closest confidants. The *Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger* reported on 31 January 1967:

“This leading jurist of the Hitler Reich is today the ‘protecting patron of the new federal cabinet’ (as FDP politician Thomas Dehler declared before the Bundestag to its general astonishment) and is considered ‘secret political adviser’ of Federal Chancellor Kiesinger with whom he and his circle have been meeting in seclusion from time to time for years in Plettenberg in Sauerland (as the *Frankfurter Rundschau* reported on 16 December without being contradicted).”

Thus it is only logical that the old nazi Kiesinger promoted an especially “reliable” man to top leadership circles. Kiesinger appointed Dr. Werner Knieper the new chief of the Federal Chancellery. He is the third nazi in this function after Globke and Dr. Westrick.

Who is Dr. Knieper?

During the war he was a staff officer with the Hitler Wehrmacht. West German newspapers noted that he is a model of the former officers and armed students. After 1945 he was business manager of the employers’ association of the metal industry. In 1945 he moved into the service of the Bonn government and took over the management of the defence economy department in the Bonn war ministry. In 1965 he advanced to chief department head for armament affairs. With his appointment as chief of the Federal Chancellery, a direct representative of the interests of West German armament capital again occupies the most influential post of the federal government.

New Version of Brüning’s Emergency Laws

In the first part of this chapter it was proved that the economic enabling laws, especially the so-called draft stabilization law, are the expression of aggravated social reaction. They are intended to further extend the central government and its guiding mechanism in the field of economy and finance policy and adapt it to the new period of expansion.

Thus the economic enabling laws are at the same time an essential part of the “internal state reform”. Wolfgang Pohle, representative of the Flick trust, frankly declared in the Bundestag debate on the stabilization law:

“With these powers an effective weapon is given to the federal government and the Bundesbank” with the special purpose “of being used quickly and without the parliamentary apparatus”.

Indeed this dictatorship law of economic policy is to be the sword which the Kiesinger/Strauss government will use to cut off all bourgeois parliamentary constitutional principles which are embarrassing to the bureaucratic-centralistic regulation of the entire financial and economic life.

A West German periodical stresses with full right:

“With the help of the most drastic change of the Basic law since the creation of the constitution of the Federal Republic... the federal government is to be given extraordinary powers; they would give the Federal Republic the formal-legal lever in the future for the most drastic, possibly effective dictatorial encroachments on the entire public life, for encroachments on the elementary territorial rights of the federal provinces as well as on the administrative autonomy of the towns and communities, on the functions and the sphere of responsibility of the parliaments and even on the financial policy of the annuity insurances and finally also on the private economy.” (*Blätter für deutsche und internationale Politik*, Cologne, 1966, No. 12, p. 1098)

With the stabilization law and the accompanying “change of the Basic Law”, the elementary constitutional

principles of the distribution of the functions of power, the federative structure of the state and communal self-administration are attacked in their essential nature.

This happens

firstly through the far-reaching deprivation of the rights of the Bundestag in the fields of financial and budget policy and the accompanying transition of legislation from parliament to the government.

The drafts of the stabilization law previously presented already provided a comprehensive general empowering of the federal government to issue legal decrees in the field of financial and budget policy to the extent of granting unlimited power of attorney and anticipates the emergency dictatorship in one of the decisive spheres of political life. This is to be further intensified according to the plans of the Kiesinger/Strauss government.

Under the heading "The Stabilization Law is Sharpened", the Springer organ *Die Welt*, admitted on 3 February 1967:

"As one of these new instruments the government in Bonn demands the authorization for a short-term increase in the tariff of the income and corporation tax . . . The government is to be empowered to reduce the income and corporation tax up to ten per cent or increase it to the same amount for one year."

The attack on elementary constitutional principles takes place,

secondly through further incisive encroachments on the rights of the provinces and communities and their subjection to the dictate of the bureaucratic central power.

The stabilization law is to authorize the Kiesinger/Strauss government

to centralize in the federal government a part of the funds used by the provinces and communities chiefly for social investments, through the creation of a financial reserve which can be manipulated, and to limit or completely block the possibility of the provinces to take up credits through the issue of legal decrees;

to regulate the budget policy of the provinces and communities for a few years through directives and thus encroach on their independent budget management dictatorially;

to control the investment and building activity of the provinces and communities in the interest of the monopolies by drawing up investment plans which are binding for a few years.

All this is in gross contradiction to the valid constitutional system. The change of Article 109 of the Basic Law through the stabilization law in fact cancels the constitutional principle that the Federal Republic and the provinces are "independent on one another in their budget economy". Thus the financial sovereignty of the

provinces which is provided for in the provincial constitutions and their rights to independent budget legislation are destroyed. This is an open breach of Article 20, sect. 1 and Article 79 of the Basic Law which forbid any encroachment on the federal structure of the state.

Moreover, the stabilization law and the change of the constitution connected with it grossly violate the right of communal self-administration and the pertinent regulations of provincial constitutional justice proclaimed in Article 28 of the Basic Law, in which the financial sovereignty of the communities and communal federations are provided for by the self-responsible regulation "of all affairs of the local community".

Professor Weichmann, mayor of Hamburg, declared:

"The executive powers which are to be granted to the chancellor according to the draft with regard to the expenditure policy and the taking up of credits are unacceptable. Here, a straight forward chancellor's dictatorship is created without control by the Federal Council and federal parliament which also eliminates the provincial parliaments. This is an emergency legislation which overshadows even the Brüning emergency law policy." (*Die Welt*, Hamburg, 16-17 June 1966)

In fact the intentions of the Kiesinger/Strauss government go beyond the Brüning emergency decree of 24 August 1931 for the alleged safeguarding of the budgets of the provinces and communities. This emergency law authorized the provincial governments to make dictatorial encroachments on the budgets of the provinces and communities by decree. The Bonn government draws all dictatorial powers into its own *direct* sphere of competence. The warning of the publicist Sebastian Haffner comes true: With the sanction of this economic-political enabling law

"a big step is taken toward uncontrolled state power. All that is missing is the emergency constitution, and that is already in preparation, and the door to dictatorship is wide open again." (*Der Stern*, Hamburg, 1966, No. 28)

Supplementing the economic enabling law, the "big financial reform" is to bring further decisive changes in the Constitution. A report submitted on the order of the federal government by a "commission of experts" provides for a total of ten amendments to the Constitution which have far-reaching consequences not only for the constitutional system in the field of finance but for the constitutional system in general. They are intended, in connection with the stabilization law,

- to accomplish the transfer of financial sovereignty from the parliament to the government,
- to perfect the system of revoking the rights of the provinces and communities,
- to pave the way for unrestricted financial plundering of the working people.

Among other measures under the "great financial reform", further tax revenues are to be taken from the

communities and at the same time they are to be charged with new tasks for the realization of the armament and emergency policy with the call to a "new settlement of the state financial revenues" and a "new demarcation of the distribution of tasks between the Federal Republic, the provinces and communities". At the same time the introduction of so-called head and personal taxes which are to burden the population with new financial loads is being prepared.

Noose of a New Criminal Law

To suppress any resistance to the policy of expansion among the population, the Kiesinger/Strauss government makes use of the rigorous sharpening of the political criminal law. Even before the enacting of the so-called "great reform of the criminal law" pseudo-legal foundations are to be created with the 8th amendment of the criminal law which exists in the form of a draft and the two still secret emergency laws "to supplement the criminal law" and on "measures in the field of the administration of law", which are intended to rapidly adapt the entire judicial system to the new period of expansion. Such methods have been practised by German imperialism up to now only in periods of emergency. Now they are to become available in time of peace.

The new regulations for the protection of the state envisaged with the "great reform of the criminal law" are a new perfected edition of the nazi laws on high treason which had been revoked after 1945 by Law No. 11 of the Allied Control Commission because of their evil fascist spirit.

The 8th Amendment to the Criminal Law Legalizes Arbitrariness

The 8th amendment to criminal law has the aim of making the criminal law serve the policy of expansion in a more drastic way than up to now. It is penetrated by the sole representation pretension of Bonn ruling circles on the one hand and on the other directed at silencing all opposition forces in the Federal Republic and furthering the persecution by the criminal law of non-conformists.

This law means an

Intensification of the Punishability of Efforts for Understanding

In § 89 section 1 of the draft a new regulation is inserted to the effect that an individual may be punished who "participates at home or abroad as a member of a political party or other association outside this territory

(meaning the Federal Republic—editor) which makes efforts against the existence or security of the Federal Republic, makes publicity for or supports it, thus pursuing the mentioned efforts, or knowingly or intentionally puts himself in its service."

This regulation is intended to threaten with prosecution those citizens of the Federal Republic who conduct talks with GDR citizens or their organizations on basic questions of the safeguarding of peace. Democratic parties and mass organizations of the GDR have already in the past been declared to be "hostile to the Constitution" through binding basic decisions of West German courts. Since regulation § 89 also applies to anybody who takes up relations with an organization without intending "hostility to the Constitution" but in knowledge of the insinuated "hostility towards the Constitution", in fact any contacts with an organization in the GDR or with one of its members—the majority of GDR citizens are members of such democratic organizations or associations—would be committing a criminal act according to this law.

Moreover, any opposition to the policy of the federal government could be silenced with § 89. Expressions or actions against atomic armament, for the abandonment of the revanchist sole representation pretension, for the bringing about of normal state relations between the GDR and the Federal Republic could be connected with the policy of the GDR or even of the illegally banned Communist Party of Germany without much ado and thus be called criminal acts as supporting "endeavours hostile to the Constitution".

Extension of the Meaning of High Treason

In § 80 of the draft law—high treason against the Federal Republic—there is a new insertion that individuals will also be punished with life imprisonment or imprisonment of not less than ten years who injure "the existence of the Federal Republic" with force or the threat of force. The so-called existence-threatening high treason is not to be differentiated from territorial high treason.

This regulation represents an essential extension of the prosecution possibilities which are beyond the valid § 80 of the West German penal code. The differentiation between high treason and endangering the state was annulled through the wording of the elastic definition "to injure the existence of the Federal Republic", which was up to now only used with a few state-endangering situations. Quite apart from the fact that the widening of the discretion is very precarious, it now becomes possible to punish with penitentiary sentences crimes endangering the state which up to now have been threatened with simple imprisonment.

This makes it easier to qualify as high treason, strikes and demonstrations against the Bonn government policy which is hostile to the people.

Introduction of New Factual Finding "in the Interest of the Secret Services"

§ 100, section 1 declares the "activity of a secret service or one of its camouflage organizations" which is aimed at "the communication or supply of facts, objects, perceptions or information of secret service interest on political, economic or scientific matters" to be punishable.

Compared with the former § 92 on "constitutionally treacherous intelligence service", relatively limited factual characteristics (information on administrations, authorities, enterprises, etc.) are excluded in the new paragraph by such wide interpretations as "facts, objects, perceptions or information of a secret service interest". In addition such things which generally are not subject to concealment can later be declared to be objects of secret service interest.

According to this, every West German citizen who meets relatives from the GDR or maintains business, cultural, sport or scientific relations with the GDR can be labelled as an agent if the partner is a member of a democratic organization of the GDR, since these organizations are given the status of "camouflage organizations" with secret service ambitions by the West German courts.

Extension of the Strike Ban

§ 92 of the draft law provides for an extension of the hitherto valid § 90 of the Penal Code (state-endangering sabotage). The fact alone that, following the example of nazi penal legislation strike actions by workers can be criminally prosecuted, throws a characteristic light on the nature of West German criminal law. But this is to be further aggravated as compared with the former regulations. Up to now it had to be proven that the intention of the strike participant was to injure "the existence of the Federal Republic" or "liquidate, annul or undermine constitutional principles". In the future it is to be sufficient interpretation that through participation in a strike "efforts against the existence or the security of the Federal Republic of Germany or against constitutional principles are pursued" or the "offender intentionally puts himself into their service".

A characteristic light is thrown on the underlying motives here by the following statement of former President Dr. Jagusch of the 3rd penal senate of the Federal Supreme Court.

Dr. Jagusch replied to the question of Professor Gallas:

"When a wage strike is conducted the strikers reject communist propaganda and its aims, does an individual who is privately enthusiastic about the aims of the communists and wants to promote them in his participation in the strike, but who does nothing else but what all the

other strikers do, become a saboteur through this private attitude alone?"

Dr. Jagusch's reply:

"Yes, indeed! At this moment he involves himself in foreign endeavours. The 'involvement of oneself' in foreign efforts is very often a decisive internal fact." (Minutes on the sessions of the Big Criminal Law Commission, Vol. 10, Bonn, 1959, p. 82)

Here the door is wide open for arbitrary conclusions in the penal prosecution of strikers. In practice it has long since been shown that state interests alone are to be interpreted as loyalty to the Constitution which demands, for example, an unconditional acceptance of the wage policy of the monopoly association. The struggles of the workers to obtain better social conditions, however, are generally considered as "hostile to the constitution" from the standpoint of the federal government, especially in times of crises caused by the growing internal contradictions.

§ 92 anticipates the emergency constitution, for it aims at clothing the regulation of the "internal state of emergency" in forms of criminal law and creating possibilities of increasingly encircling the trade union coalition and fully liquidating it if the need arises.

These regulations would be applied not only to political strikes against a regime hostile to the people but also to economic and social labour struggles against the monopolies. This would destroy another of the basic rights proclaimed in Bonn Basic Law.

Government Practices Contrary to the Constitution are Legally Protected

It becomes obvious from § 99a, section 5 of the draft that the Bonn government also intends to protect by criminal law so-called illegal state secrets, i.e., in reality official acts or situations contrary to the Constitution.

From the outset every citizen who makes use of his rights and duties as a citizen and discovers violations of the West German Constitution can be suspected of being a potential traitor to his country, if he tries to defend the Constitution.

In addition every unconstitutional act of the federal government or its executive organs which might be subject to criticism can be declared a state secret using the inexact definition covering such facts.

What remains of the citizens' freedom of opinion guaranteed by the Constitution, of the rights of the parliamentarians, parties, trade unions and organizations, and especially of the freedom of the press?

The Bonn "protectors of the Constitution" are now to get secured additional legal protection for every future breach of the Constitution.

Emergency Law Paves the Way for Martial Law

The content of the "emergency law to supplement the criminal law" makes it clear that the project of West German monopoly capital legally to safeguard its intensified expansion and revanchist policy has led to the elaboration of a martial law code perfected in the last detail.

The very development of West German criminal law as expressed in the regulations of the 8th criminal law amendment and the development of special juridical practice is characterized by a menacing neo-nazi trend; but the "first emergency law to supplement the criminal law" considerably exceeds all that preceded and combines it into a complete network of punitive actions of a war machinery set into motion. This is served by such new factual findings as

- § 4: Abetment to high treason,
- § 5: High treasonable disruption,
- § 6: High treasonable propaganda,
- § 7: Non-fulfilment of a contract on war requirements,
- § 12: Offences utilizing war-conditioned circumstances,
- § 13: Partisan activity,
- § 14: Non-information on one of the above-mentioned actions, which complete the system of political criminal law hitherto existing.

Thus "abetment to high treason" shall be punished with up to life imprisonment according to § 4. This applies to persons

"who hinder or disturb the activity of the Bundeswehr in fulfilling its task of defending the country or measures of a public security organ or other authority or office which serve fully or chiefly national defence or the protection of the civil population from war dangers, in a way which endangers the security of the Federal Republic of Germany, the striking force of the troop or the life of another individual..."

According to § 5 an individual is to be punished for "high treasonable disruption" with up to ten years imprisonment who "makes or spreads false or grossly distorted statements of a factual kind the diffusion of which serves to hinder or disturb the activity of such bodies (see § 4) or authorities or incite fear or terror among the population". In short this paragraph serves to make secure through criminal law the activity of the organs of force of the Bonn state.

The dangerousness of the regulations of this emergency law is increased still more through its § 1.

It contains regulations according to which in the case of war all "German nationals"—according to the Bonn sole representation pretension this also means citizens of the GDR—are to be subject to West German martial jurisdiction.

The punishment threats are to be valid "without con-

sideration of the scene of the offence and independently of the laws in existence there": that means also for "actions" which were "committed" by GDR citizens in their own state and in fulfilment of their duties as citizens.

These regulations are intended for the case of war and the conquest of territories of other states but they also apply to displaced and deported citizens of other states, prisoners of war and forced labourers who offer resistance to the war of aggression or, for example, disclose the truth on war crimes or crimes against humanity. Foreign labourers too, e.g., guest workers who do not submit to the aggressive regime of the West German state would have to reckon with the threatened severe punitive sanctions.

This proves that through the emergency law the ruling circles of the Federal Republic claim, based on the fascist pattern, to be allowed to attack any people at any time and suppress liberation movements.

The Bonn authors of these monstrous regulations even go beyond their fascist models. Today Bonn already creates for itself a criminal law to deal with occupied territories, especially with regard to the strategic aim of a forcible annexation of the GDR. This "occupational right" continues the criminal nazi practice of the Hitler state and declares any resistance against occupational authorities to be punishable acts.

Cancellation of the Constitutional Court System

The planned "emergency law on measures in the field of the administration of law" must be considered an especially dangerous plot against the bourgeois-democratic constitutional foundations in the Federal Republic. According to it the executive receives absolute authority for the liquidation of the valid constitutional court system and full freedom in the creation of a court organization corresponding with the interests of the armament monopoly and military dictatorship.

This general authority in fact abolishes another one of the elementary principles of any legal system that legal judgement cannot be withheld from any individual.

The possibility is to be created of employing such judges, if need arises, who would reliably represent the emergency regime against all oppositional forces by virtue of their descent, education and political attitude.

Criminal nazi legislation serves the Bonn state here too, as a model for the preparation of a new period of expansion and revanchist policy. On 1 September 1939 the Reich minister of justice was given almost the same authority with the "decree of measures in the field of the court constitution and the administration of law" (RGBl. I, p. 1658). This was frankly set up with the aim of adapting the "German administration of justice" and especially the "German criminal jurisdiction" to the conditions and requirements of war.

Social welfare curtailments in the interest of expansion. The headlines of West German newspapers announce further victims, short-time, unemployment and dismissals. Social

insecurity is growing. The workers are to be intimidated and forced into submission. (See section on "Deprivation of the Rights of the Working People")

Frankfurter Rundschau

Kiesinger fordert weitere Opfer

Süddeutsche Zeitung

Weitere Steuererhöhungen drohen

Zur Schließung der Deckungslücke im Bundeshaushalt in Höhe von 3,3 Milliarden Mark kündigt Finanzminister Strauß „schmerzhaft Maßnahmen“ an / Ergänzungsabgabe zur Einkommensteuer abgelehnt

14. Dezember 1966

DIE WELT

Notenbank will keine Kreditspritzen geben Industrie hat Angst vor der Durststrecke

Conti-Gummi besorgt
über VW-Kurzarbeit

Frankfurter Rundschau

Chemie-Tarifstreit spitzt sich zu

Kein Angebot der Arbeitgeber / Schlichtungsverfahren beginnt

Im Revier stehen die Zeichen auf
Sturm – Feierschichten – Weniger
Lohn – Arbeitslosigkeit – Einige
Familien wissen nicht mehr weiter

**Bild
ZEITUNG**

chemisch-pharmazeutisches Werk schließt wegen Auftragsmangel

180 Mitarbeiter vor Weihnachten gekündigt

Süddeutsche Zeitung

Volkswagenwerk führt Kurzarbeit ein

In den VW-Fabriken Wolfsburg, Braunschweig, Hannover, Kassel und Emden sowie bei der Auto Union in Ingolstadt wird von Januar an die Produktion gedrosselt / Rund 100 000 Arbeitnehmer betroffen

In great demand among West German employers: a handbook on dismissals and notice. According to the advertising letter of the publisher in Munich the handbook contains information on the circumstances under which "trouble-

makers, intriguers and grumblers" may be dismissed without notice, and when "political activities, threats of strike, abuse of confidence or duration of sickness" are grounds for dismissal.

verlag moderne industrie

Wolfgang Dummer & Norbert Müller OHG



Verlag Moderne Industrie · 8 München 29 · Aachener Straße 9

Telefon 330086

21.3.1966

Betrifft: Personalleitung

Sehr geehrte Herren,

wann können Sie Unruhestifter, Intriganten und Nörgler fristlos entlassen?

Wann ist Leistungsabfall oder Krankheitsdauer ein Kündigungsgrund? Wann politische Aktivität, Druck auf Dritte, Streikdrohung, Vertrauensmißbrauch oder Dienstverletzungen? Wie steht es mit dem Kündigungsverlangen des Betriebsrates?

Unter Berücksichtigung der neuesten Rechtsprechung gibt Ihnen Dr. jur. Karl Schlessmann, Personalchef der Kienzle-Apparate AG, auf diese und andere aktuellen arbeitsrechtlichen Fragen klare Antworten in der erweiterten neuesten Auflage seines Buches

"DIE KÜNDIGUNG VON ARBEITSVERHÄLTNISSEN"

349 Seiten, Leinen, 28,-- DM

Sie erfahren, was Sie im einzelnen wissen müssen über:

1. Beendigung des Arbeitsverhältnisses ohne Kündigung
Arbeitsvertrag auf Zeit - Altersgrenze - Langdauernde Krankheit - Aufhebungsvertrag - Aussperrung - Anfechtung des Arbeitsvertrages.
2. Die ordentliche Kündigung
Kündigungsregelung (Form, Inhalt, Grund, Widerruf) - Kündigung des Arbeitnehmers - Kündigung des Arbeitgebers - Kündigungsausschluß - Kündigungserschwerbis (Schwerbeschädigte, Lehrlinge, Massenentlassung) - Druckkündigung - Kündigung bei vorübergehender Arbeitsunterbrechung - Mitbestimmung des Betriebsrates.
3. Die fristlose Entlassung
Regelung für gewerbliche Arbeiter und Angestellte - Gesetzliche Beispiele - Außerordentliche Kündigung des Arbeitnehmers (Lohnbenachteiligung, Unfallgefährdung, grobe Beleidigung etc.).

Friedrich Niendieck

Boom in West German labour exchanges: view of the labour exchange in Dortmund, January 1967 (above).
Mass demonstrations against anti-social policy in Gelsenkirchen ... (centre).

... and in Bottrop (below).



Behind powerful concrete walls, barbed wire and sentries on guard the Bonn government conducted exercises towards the end of 1966 for the "event of an emergency". The bunker manoeuvre "Fallex 66" was the general rehearsal for the subjection of the West German population to the emergency dictatorship (above).

At the same time the civil war troops of the Bonn government practised "emergency" measures against the civilian population (below). (See section "Emergency Dictatorship Tested Practically in 'Fallex 66'")



This facsimile shows that there is practically no difference between Hitler's Enabling Law of the year 1933, which rendered invalid important articles of the Constitution and sharpened the political penal administration of justice, and

the drafts of the Bonn government for the emergency laws. (See "The Destruction of the Democratic Constitutional Provisions")

1933 Reichsgesetzblatt

Teil I

1933	Ausgegeben zu Berlin, den 28. Februar 1933	Nr. 17
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Inhalt: Verordnung des Reichspräsidenten zum Schutz von Volk und Staat. Vom 28. Februar 1933. S. 83

Verordnung des Reichspräsidenten zum Schutz von Volk und Staat. Vom 28. Februar 1933.

Auf Grund des Artikels 48 Abs. 2 der Reichsverfassung wird zur Abwehr kommunistischer Staatsgefährdender Gewalttate folgendes verordnet:

§ 1

Die Artikel 114, 115, 117, 118, 123, 124 und 153 der Verfassung des Deutschen Reichs werden bis auf weiteres außer Kraft gesetzt. Es sind daher Beschränkungen der persönlichen Freiheit, des Rechts

Wer zu einer gemeingefährlichen Zuwiderhandlung (Abs. 2) auffordert oder anreizt, wird mit Zuchthaus, bei milderen Umständen mit Gefängnis nicht unter drei Monaten bestraft.

§ 5

Mit dem Tode sind die Verbrechen zu bestrafen, die das Strafgesetzbuch in den §§ 81 (Hochverrat), 229 (Giftbeibringung), 307 (Brandstiftung), 311 (Explosion), 312 (Überschwemmung), 315 Abs. 2 (Beschädigung von Eisenbahnanlagen), 324 (ge-

Notstands-Gesetze

Drucksache IV/3494

Deutscher Bundestag — 4. Wahlperiode

Beschlüsse des 12. Ausschusses

1965

Entwurf eines ... Gesetzes zur Ergänzung des Grundgesetzes

Der Bundestag hat mit Zustimmung des Bundesrates das folgende Gesetz beschlossen; Artikel 79 Abs. 2 des Grundgesetzes ist eingehalten:

§ 1

Das Grundgesetz für die Bundesrepublik Deutschland vom 23. Mai 1949 (Bundesgesetzbl. S. 1) wird wie folgt ergänzt:

7. Artikel 91 erhält folgende Fassung:

„Artikel 91

(1) Zur Abwehr einer drohenden Gefahr für den Bestand oder die freiheitliche demokratische Grundordnung des Bundes oder eines Landes kann ein Land Polizeikräfte anderer Länder sowie Kräfte des Bundesgrenzschutzes anfordern. Reichen diese Polizeikräfte nicht aus, so kann die Bundesregierung der Landesregierung mit Zustimmung des Bundesrates Streitkräfte als Polizeikräfte zur Verfügung stellen.

abweichend von Artikel 9 Abs. 1 der Beitritt oder der Zusammenschluß zu Vereinigungen auch nicht öffentlich-rechtlicher Art angeordnet sowie abgesehen von Artikel 9 Abs. 2, auch solche Vereinigungen, die die innere oder äußere Sicherheit der Bundesrepublik Deutschland oder deren Beziehungen zu einem verbündeten Staat gefährden, verboten oder in ihrer Betätigungsfreiheit beschränkt werden,

b) bei Enteignungen abweichend von Artikel 14 Abs. 3 Satz 2 die Entschädigung vorläufig geregelt und ihre endgültige Festsetzung einer späteren Regelung vorbehalten werden, die bis zur Beendigung des zweiten auf die Aufhebung des Zustandes der äußeren Gefahr folgenden Jahres getroffen werden muß,

In 1941 Josef Köblle wrote the commentary on the nazi forced labour regulations. He wrote that "general economic necessities" demanded "priority over individual interests",

and in this connection also favoured the extension of the working day from 8 to 10 hours.

1941

Neugestaltung von Recht und Wirtschaft

Herausgegeben von G. Schaeffer, Oberlandesgerichtsrat a. D.

Heft 153

Grundzüge der neuen Deutschen Wirtschaftsordnung

Von

Dr. Josef Köblle

Berlin

I. Das Wesen des Arbeitseinsatzes.

Unter **Arbeitseinsatz** versteht man den **Inbegriff aller hoheitlichen Maßnahmen**, die den **Bestand und die Verwendung der Arbeitskräfte** des Volkes mit den **gesamtwirtschaftlichen Bedürfnissen in Einklang bringen sollen**.

Für den Arbeitseinsatz kommen nicht nur die **erwerbstätigen Personen** in Frage, sondern alle Personen, die **geistig, körperlich und sozial zur Arbeitsleistung fähig sind**. Zeitweise stehen für den Arbeitseinsatz auch **ausländische Arbeitskräfte** in gewissem Umfang zur Verfügung.

II. Das Ziel des Arbeitseinsatzes ist erreicht, wenn den **gesamtwirtschaftlichen Notwendigkeiten** Rechnung getragen ist, **ohne daß die wohlverstandenen Interessen des Einzelnen** dadurch in **ungerechter Weise** beeinträchtigt werden.

Wenn der **Wirtschaftsbedarf** größer ist als der **Volksbestand an Arbeitskräften** (s. oben I 3). In solchen Zeiten wird oft auch über **wohlverstandene Interessen des Einzelnen** hinweggegangen werden müssen, um den **gesamtwirtschaftlichen Notwendigkeiten** Rechnung zu tragen. Die hier vielfach bestehende Unmöglichkeit, einen gerechten Ausgleich zu finden, wird jedoch durch die vorübergehende Natur jener Maßnahmen, die ausgetragten **Ausnahmeharakter** tragen, erträglich.

Zwei allgemeine Einrichtungen von **ausgesprochenem Übergangscharakter**, die lediglich zur **Überwindung arbeitseinsatzmangelnder Engpässe** dienen: Die **Kontrolle des Arbeitskräfteumschlags** und die **haatspolitische Dienstpflicht wirtschaftlicher Dienstleistungen**.

Die **Anforderung** der freiwilligen **Anarbeit** der Beteiligten, die in **normalen Zeiten** ausreichend sein kann, genügt bei der ungleichen **Anforderung** der Arbeitskräfte nicht, um die **volkswirtschaftlich erforderliche Verteilung** der Arbeitskräfte zu sichern. Deshalb wurde auf die **haatspolitische Dienstpflicht** als **letzte Ausweg** zum **Arbeitsersatz** zurückgegriffen werden. Am **stärksten** hat die **bedeutendsten wirtschaftlichen Dienstleistungen** zum **gegenstand**, denn ebenso wie dem **militärischen Zelle** geleistet werden muß.

Die **große Bedeutung** der **haatspolitischen Dienstpflicht** zeigt sich namentlich darin, daß der **Bedienstete** nur durch den **Einsatz von 10000 Dienstverpflichteten** in der **erforderlichen kurzen Zeit fertiggestellt** werden konnte.

2. Durch Verlängerung der täglichen Arbeitszeit.

Nach einer **NS** des **NSDAP**, vom 12. XII. 1939 darf die **tägliche Arbeitszeit** **regelmäßig auf 10 Stunden** statt 8 Stunden **ausgedehnt** werden.

In 1966 Josef Kölble is ministerial director in the Ministry of the Interior in Bonn, and is among the authors of the emergency laws. Here is an excerpt from the "Emergency

Regulation on Civilian Service" worked out with his participation. According to this emergency regulation every citizen can be ordered by the state to perform forced labour.

1966

Notverordnung über den Zivildienst

Auf Grund der ihr erteilten Ermächtigung verordnet die Bundesregierung mit Gesetzeskraft:

Erster Abschnitt

Inhalt und Umfang des Zivildienstes

§ 4

Ausbildungsveranstaltungen

Gegenstand des Zivildienstes ist auch die Teilnahme an Ausbildungsveranstaltungen.

§ 5

Rechtsformen des Zivildienstes

(1) Zivildienst kann gefordert werden

1. innerhalb eines bestehenden Dienstverhältnisses als Beamter oder eines bestehenden Arbeitsverhältnisses als Arbeitnehmer,
2. in einem neu zu begründenden Arbeitsverhältnis oder durch Begründung eines Beamtenverhältnisses auf Widerruf mit einem im Ruhestand befindlichen oder früheren Beamten,
3. in einem Hilfsdienstverhältnis.

(2) Der Zivildienst in einem Hilfsdienstverhältnis kann als langfristiger oder als kurzfristiger Zivildienst gefordert werden. Langfristiger Zivildienst liegt vor, wenn er für einen längeren Zeitraum als zwei Wochen bemessen wird oder länger als zwei Wochen dauert und die bisherige berufliche Tätigkeit des Zivildienstpflichtigen durch den Zivildienst wesentlich beeinträchtigt wird oder der Zivildienst die Arbeitskraft des Zivildienstpflichtigen erheblich in Anspruch nimmt; in den übrigen Fällen liegt kurzfristiger Zivildienst vor.

§ 6

Bereithaltung zum Zivildienst

(1) Bereits vor der Heranziehung kann ein Zivildienstpflichtiger nach Maßgabe des § 23 zum Zivildienst eingeteilt werden. Dies gilt auch, wenn ein Zivildienstpflichtiger sich freiwillig für Dienstleistungen gemeldet hat, die Gegenstand des Zivildienstes nach § 3 sein können.

(2) Ein nach Absatz 1 eingeteilter Zivildienstpflichtiger hat der Heranziehungsbehörde jeden Wohnungswechsel innerhalb von drei Tagen mitzuteilen.

§ 7

Dauer der Ausbildung

Zu Ausbildungsveranstaltungen sollen Zivildienstpflichtige in der Regel nur bis zu einer Dauer von jährlich insgesamt 100 Stunden, bei ganztägiger Ausbildung bis zu einer Dauer von insgesamt 14 Tagen herangezogen werden; die Erstausbildung kann bis zu 200 Stunden oder 28 Tagen betragen. Die Vorschriften über den kurzfristigen Zivildienst in einem Hilfsdienstverhältnis finden Anwendung.

§ 8

Heranziehung zum Wehrdienst oder zivilen Ersatzdienst

Die Heranziehung zum Wehrdienst oder zum zivilen Ersatzdienst

When the GDR revealed the planned emergency regulations and published the secret documents, Bonn's first reaction was to deny everything (see facsimile left), then the existence of the drafts was admitted (facsimile right). Minister of

the Interior Lücke then stated in an interview that those who had seen the laws had become "somewhat pale". (Facsimile below)



SED spricht von geheimen Notstandsplänen Lückes

Berlin, 2. Mai (AP)

Von angeblich neuem sensationellem Material „aus den Panzerschränken Bonner Minister“ über die geplante Notstandsgesetzgebung sprach das SED-Politbüromitglied Albert Norden am Montag auf einer Pressekonferenz. Er behauptete, in Ostberlin läge Material vor, das den meisten Politikern in der Bundesrepublik unbekannt sei. Innenminister Lücke habe diese Pläne „bis zum heutigen Tage unterschlagen“. Ein Sprecher des Innenministeriums bezeichnete die Behauptungen Nordens als „völligen Unsinn“.

Der Geheimnisträger lächelte nachsichtig und sagte: „Vorveröffentlicht schon, aber niemand weiß, ob es echt ist. Verstehen Sie, Bonn hat die Ost-Berliner Veröffentlichungen weder bestätigt noch dementiert. Sie aber wissen jetzt, daß die Dinger echt sind. Wenn Sie mit Ihrem Wissen um die Echtheit Einzelheiten dieser Gesetze preisgeben, können Sie bestraft werden.“

Tatsächlich bedarf es dieser Bestätigung gar nicht mehr. Die Behörden in Ost-Berlin wissen

genau, daß die ausspionierten Unterlagen echt sind. Und westdeutsche Notstandsexperten und Journalisten haben da auch keine Zweifel. In der Bundesrepublik wissen so viele Menschen Bescheid, daß man von einem Staatsgeheimnis nicht mehr sprechen kann.

Lücke zu BILD: „Ohne zivile Notstandsgesetzgebung gehen wir baden“

BILD: Gibt es geheime Gesetze für den Fall, daß die Alliierten von einem Tag auf den anderen wieder die Macht übernehmen?

Lücke: Wenn nicht die Gewalt ganz an die Alliierten gehen soll, müssen wir die geheimen Schubladen öffnen. Wir müssen längst vorbereitete, einschränkende Gesetze mit Ermächtigung der Alliierten in Kraft setzen. Wir sind auf den Tag X vorbereitet. Hier, im Innenministerium, wird es keine

BILD: Sind diese geheimen Vorlagen wirklich so einschneidend, daß Sie um den Bestand unserer Demokratie fürchten müßten?

Lücke: Ich kann im einzelnen nicht darüber sprechen. Diejenigen, die diese Gesetze gesehen haben, waren etwas bleich. Die Ge-

Independence of Judges Is Abolished

Article 1 of the emergency law furthermore changes the legal position of the judges deriving from the constitutional legal state principles and secured in the Judges Law of 8 September 1961, in so far as the judges can be delegated to other courts by the service boards of control without their consent;

the judges have to accept community accommodation and central feeding on the direction of the executive authorities;

the pensionable age is raised to 70 years, under which age they are liable for duty on the direction of the board.

These discriminatory provisions of the emergency law liquidate the constitutionally guaranteed independence of the judges.

Isolation from the Public

The cooperation of lay judges and jurors which is already very limited in the Federal Republic is to be completely removed with the emergency law, and justice is to be further isolated from the public.

The authors of this regulation also copy measures introduced by the Hitler state at the beginning of the Second World War in spirit and letter. At that time the ill-famed president of the People's Court, Freisler, justified the removal of honorary judges from jurisdiction as follows:

"The simplification decree serves to economize on work forces by ending the employment of non-professional judges – lay judges and jurors – for the duration of the war..." (Freisler/Grau/Krug/Rietzsch, *Deutsches Strafrecht*, Vol. I, Berlin, 1941, p. 541)

Far-reaching Restriction of Trial Guarantees for the Protection of the Citizens

The bourgeois-democratic principles of criminal procedure derived from the Constitution are subject to considerable restrictions. The demand of the Constitution that every arrested person has to come before a judge one day after the arrest at the latest is disregarded since the term for the production of the accused before a court is prolonged or is declared to be dispensable when "local conditions" do not permit it.

Especially §§ 10 and 11 of Article 3, section 2 of the emergency law are directed against any legal security; according to them the bourgeois principles of the equality of citizens before the law and justice are further undermined. The decision on criminal prosecution becomes a mere question of the discretion of the public prosecutor who has to act according to his instructions.

Erection of a Network of Political Criminal Courts

The planned formation of a strictly organized investigation apparatus with a central instructional structure is to be combined with the continued extension of political jurisdiction. In contrast to the valid constitutional court law it is foreseen that in the future the criminal courts are to be made competent for the jurisdiction in political criminal cases at all 92 provincial courts.

This means that the federal government wants to have available a reliable and variable court system and executive criminal prosecution authorities with the broadest and seemingly legal range of action in order to break the expected resistance of the West German population. This very end is served by the future transformation of the criminal courts of the 92 provincial courts into special political criminal courts which are to cover the Federal Republic like a close meshed net and form a complete system of a political terror justice.

For the safeguarding of the "political reliability" of these criminal courts the emergency law foresees the direct coordination of the criminal courts of all provincial courts with the jurisdiction of the superior provincial courts which are for their part coordinated with the Federal Supreme Court.

This emergency law also contains regulations for the planned raid on the GDR and other states, since according to Article 1, section 1, it is possible to shift the seat of courts to a place outside the court district. The possibility even exists of locating such special political criminal courts outside the frontiers of the Federal Republic, when the territory of other states is occupied.

Emergency Justice—Contrary to International Law

It becomes obvious from all these regulations that:

These legislative projects are

- contrary to the constitution,
- legalize arbitrariness and
- make justice and criminal law an instrument of suppression and terrorization of the citizens.

Thus they directly serve the establishment of a state of emergency dictatorship and the forced continuation of the new stage of expansion of West German imperialism.

These law projects grossly violate the general norms of international law because they contribute to the planning and preparation of aggression against the GDR and other states, are intended to confirm the juridical annexation of foreign territories and already contain a complete set of occupational criminal laws for territories to be occupied in the future.

These neo-fascist law projects violate the ban against the preparation of a war of aggression; they represent the juridical preparation for war crimes and crimes

against humanity and fit precisely into all plans and measures of the Kiesinger/Strauss government to perfect its power.

Emergency Laws as Nucleus

The nature of the "internal state reform" becomes most obvious in the emergency legislation. In it the ruling circles see the most important instrument to again accomplish the transition to a dictatorial power system of a neo-fascist character in the way that the notorious powers acts once paved the way for Hitler's fascist dictatorship. Professor Karl Jaspers stated that with it "the instrument is to be created with which, in one pernicious moment, dictatorship is to be erected in a single act, the Constitution cancelled, and an irreversible state of political force and loss of freedom is to be brought about". (K. Jaspers, "Wohin treibt die Bundesrepublik?—Tatsachen, Gefahren, Chancen", Munich, 1966, p. 157)

Incisive Dictatorship Laws Already Adopted

In the fourth legislative period, a reactionary Bundestag majority already gave the government comprehensive dictatorship authorities.

In the summer of 1965 seven so-called simple emergency laws were rushed through, aimed at putting the West German population and all material resources at the service of war preparation.

The West German Metalworkers' Industrial Union is quite right when it states on this:

"In accordance with these laws the federal government can already gather millions of people into forced organizations even in times of peace, make claims on property and activities of all citizens, regroup entire branches of industry and restrict the liberty of the employees . . ." (Notstandsgesetze—Notstand der Demokratie", Frankfurt-on-Main, p. 21)

The parallel between the seven simple emergency laws and Hitler's laws of force is clear and cannot be ignored. The four so-called security laws,

the economic security law, covering the introduction of compulsory rationing of commodities of all kinds, makes the guidance of the entire production possible in the interest of war preparation and enables the government to regulate the entire economic life;

the transport security law, with which the West German traffic and transport system is to be subjected to the needs of the Bundeswehr and NATO and which even provides for the confiscation of private motor vehicles;

the foodstuffs security law, which authorizes the government to regulate the production, collection and

distribution of all agricultural products through legal decrees;

the water security law, with its far-reaching authority for the government to regulate the entire water conservation system as well as flood protection and make it serve war preparation,

have their direct predecessors in the nazi war economy decree of 4 September 1939, the decree on the combating of emergency states in transport of 19 September 1939 and the law on material services for Reich tasks of 1 September 1939. The parallel is complete to the last detail.

In giving the government such far-reaching powers and dictatorship authority, the so-called Bonn security laws represent a gross breach of the Basic Law. The representative of the Hessian provincial government declared in the Federal Council in the name of his province:

"In the present form the laws break the constitutional state principle. The security laws are considered by us to be contrary to the Constitution. They are pure enabling acts which give the executive extraordinary authorities even in times of peace." (*Gewerkschaftliche Monatshefte*, Cologne-Deutz, 1965, p. 554 ff.)

In addition to these "security laws", three of the "protective laws" which also belong to the emergency parcel were adopted in the summer of 1965. Again there is a frightening parallel to the nazi laws of compulsion:

The self-protection law, which sets up a self-protection duty for all 16 to 65-year-old West German citizens of both sexes, forces them to participate in training and moreover burdens them with the costs of the so-called self-protection, is a new edition of the nazi air defence law of 26 June 1936.

The protective building law which forces the erection of so-called protective buildings and contains an enormous financial burden for the West German population, is also taken from this nazi law in spirit and content.

The civil defence corps law with its obligation to build up a "home defence troop" of more than 200,000 men has its predecessor in the nazi law on technical emergency aid of 25 March 1939.

The West German Metalworkers' Industrial Union emphatically stresses the comparison between these nazi dictatorship laws and the civil defence corps law:

"This law is contrary to the Constitution. It stipulates that persons liable to military service are forced into non-military service which nevertheless has a military character. The conscript has the legal position of a soldier but cannot reject the service in the civil corps because it is not military service with weapons. But according to the official justification he is to be made familiar with the latest level of arms technology. This is the clear attempt to evade the stipulation of Article 12, section 2 G. G. of the Basic Law which bans general forced labour without the necessary change in the Constitution."

On the nature of the so-called protective laws it is stated:

"These laws do not in any way serve the protection of the population. They rather create the organizational basis for its involvement and for the cancellation of the basic rights of the social constitutional state even in times of peace. Defence Minister Kai-Uwe von Hassel explained the emergency legislation in the Bundestag on 24 June 1965: 'In an emergency situation, only that can function which already functions in peace.' This is nothing but the demand for the cancellation of the democracy of the Constitution and the psychological preparation of the population for a situation of total war." (*Notstandsgesetze-Notstand der Demokratie*, Frankfurt-on-Main, p. 25 ff.)

Emergency Dictatorship Tested in Practice in "Fallex 66"

The general test for the subjugation of the West German population under a perfected emergency dictatorship was the "Fallex 66" manoeuvre carried out in the autumn of 1966.

On the first day of the manoeuvre, the Bonn home office declared:

"It is a gift from heaven that the exercise is to be carried through at this time. Authoritative politicians of the coalition and the opposition will now be able to examine the drafts and proposals for an emergency legislation with the actual situation at hand." (*Hamburger Abendblatt*, 12 October 1966)

This happened with downright devilish perfection. "Fallex 66" was not designed for the testing of individual stipulations of the emergency legislation; it was a large-scale functional test of the entire system of the emergency dictatorship under the conditions of sharpened internal contradictions and a new period of outward expansion. This was admitted by CDU Bundestag member Benda, one of the instigators of the emergency dictatorship, when he declared on the American RIAS radio station on 18 October 1966:

"All questions were decided which are dealt with in the draft of the emergency constitution."

The "Fallex 66" manoeuvre especially served to test the "ability to function" of the so-called Joint Committee which is also called an "emergency parliament". This "emergency parliament" is a special political trick engineered by Lücke with a few supporters of the emergency laws in the social democratic leadership, to embellish the emergency dictatorship in a parliamentary way and pretend to the federal citizens that "constitutional" emergency legislation operates with the participation of the parliament "elected" by them.

"The advocates of the alteration of the Constitution intend that a far-reaching securing of parliamentary control be guaranteed through the planned institution of an emergency committee. But even according to these

drafts the state of emergency remains the 'hour of the executive'.

"The federal government can consider the internal state of emergency in existence without express proclamation of the case of emergency and without the decision of a parliamentary body and thereupon operate the Bundeswehr.

"The federal government can state, according to the simple emergency laws, that a situation has come about which authorizes it to apply the special competences contained in these laws.

"The planned declaration of a state of emergency from without by a parliamentary body may be circumvented in the following manner:

"The federal government maintains that the federal territory is being attacked by force of arms and the responsible authorities are not in a position to immediately proclaim the state of emergency.

"The federal president and federal chancellor maintain that the immediate meeting of parliamentary bodies is prevented by insurmountable obstacles, or that they are not competent to pass resolutions and declare that a state of danger from without has arisen.

"On the strength of that, the federal government may provisionally enforce laws which have up to now been kept a strict secret—with all their regulations restricting even the Constitution." (*Notstandsgesetze-Notstand der Demokratie*, p. 17 ff)

This makes it quite clear that the "emergency parliament" is given the role of a democratic fig-leaf and assistant in the employment of enabling acts.

The Springer paper *Die Welt* rejoiced on 27 October 1966:

"The emergency parliament functioned and passed several laws while buried under concrete and vineyards."

Indeed, the emergency parliament "functioned"! Every 44 minutes an emergency instruction was launched. Altogether 17 emergency laws and 29 emergency decrees were enforced and tested. All the variants were tested to find out how emergency laws and emergency decrees have to be employed for suppressing and silencing the population or for forcing them to wage a war against the first German peace state.

The emergency parliamentarians in their atomic-proof bunker enforced laws and decrees whose contents have so far been kept secret from the West German public. Among others they passed and tested in practice:

- an emergency decree for the federal border troops,
- an emergency decree to amend and supplement the army penal law,
- an emergency decree on civilian service,
- an emergency decree on controlling the movement of the civilian population,
- an emergency decree on handling enemy property,

- an emergency decree on measures to be taken in the administration of justice,
- an emergency decree on measures to be taken in regard to property and traffic taxes.

In addition extensive decrees on the execution of the so-called security acts were enforced and, among others, the following compulsory measures set in motion:

- a system of confiscation of food products as well as the establishment of regional and district food offices responsible for carrying out the confiscation;
- introduction of a rationing system for food and essential commodities, fixing of monthly food rations and issue of ration cards, milk tickets and coupons for the civilian population;
- restrictions on the transport of persons and goods by the Federal Railways, restrictions on road traffic and closing of roads important for war actions.

All this was not merely proclaimed, but exercised in practice! This is how the *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 24 October 1966 described the situation during the manoeuvre: "Meanwhile the manoeuvre blood is flowing outside. Field-police and tank-guardsmen are shooting along the Autobahn to make the way free to Hanover for the advancing columns. The enemy are panic stricken federal citizens in their Opels and Fords."

All the civilian institutions were mobilized, from the Ministries of Transport, Economics, Post and Telecommunications and the Interior to the provincial governments and government regions and up to more than fifty town and rural regions which—on instructions of their "local defence headquarters"—distributed ration cards, set up court martials, prohibited strikes, suppressed demonstrations, and drew up appeals for peace and order. Former Bundeswehr generals such as Rogge, Hermann, Müller und Laegeler acted as advisers on civil defence.

The emergency strategists initiated special activities to nip in the bud any resistance on the part of the population against the policy of war. As a "war games" exercise persons "who were under the least suspicion" of "high treason,

endangering the state" or "committing a punishable offence against the defence of the country" were taken into police custody;

special groups of the secret service were ordered to carry out

sudden actions against democratic forces in selected areas: a special staff of the secret service was authorized "to immediately arrest persons registered in prepared lists and to take them into protective custody";

measures were taken to transport all "unreliable elements and those who disturb military actions" to "guarded and concentrated billets" behind the lines.

The most important conclusion drawn by Minister of the Interior Lücke when crawling out of the bunker was: "The Constitution . . . must be supplemented as soon as possible by a German emergency constitution." (*Bulletin des Presse- und Informationsamtes der Bundesregierung*, Bonn, 28 October 1966, p. 1113)

Up to now this plan which has been pursued for a number of years has been wrecked by the resistance of the West German population, in particular the trade unions. Now, after the entry of a number of social democratic ministers in the Kiesinger/Strauss government the ruling circles want to take action.

The Emergency Plot of the Kiesinger/Strauss Government

The course of the Kiesinger/Strauss government is for the speedy hurrying through of the emergency constitution. This was clearly confirmed by CDU member Ernst Benda of the Bundestag in the *Politisch-Soziale Korrespondenz* of 15 Januar 1967. He wrote:

"The preliminary work in the Federal Ministry of the Interior has to a certain extent come to a close; the new conception, which on the whole corresponds to the result of the debate in the legal committee of the Bundestag in the fourth election period, still has to be adopted by the federal cabinet, but could already be taken as a basis for 'Fallex 66'."

This proves that the finished draft of the emergency constitution lies in the drawers of the Bonn Ministry of the Interior and is ready to be passed; it was tested in practice in the "Fallex 66" manoeuvre. Benda goes on to say:

"The crisis of the government in Autumn 1966 disturbed the planned time-table . . . But speed is necessary if such an important project is not to be threatened by lack of time again. Therefore the new federal government will have to act soon."

The tactics of the CDU/CSU takes into consideration the new situation brought about by the entry of several social democratic ministers to the government. Conspiring with them, the Kiesinger/Strauss government wants to bring the emergency constitution safely established in secret negotiations, so that only parliamentary sanction remains, ensured—by the majority in the Bundestag.

Benda writes:

"Whereas the conceptions of the Christian democrats are quite definite, even beyond the parliamentary group, the Social Democratic Party still has to reckon even today with the resistance of part of the trade unions and even some of the membership . . .

"If the Social Democratic Party succeeds in subordinating its own tactical considerations to the political necessities of the state and can take part in a settlement which will bring just as little approval from those circles

as the establishing of the Great Coalition, this attitude deserves nothing but esteem." (*Ibid.*)

This proves that Kiesinger and Strauss have given the social democratic ministers the task safeguarding the smooth operation of the emergency plot. They have to stand the test as the auxiliary troop of the CDU/CSU by throttling the resistance in the ranks of social democracy, particularly in the trade unions, against the threatening emergency dictatorship!

As far as the *world outside* is concerned, social democratic Minister Gustav Heinemann gives assurance that "in case of a new bill of drafts for the emergency regulation" there will be "a general public discussion over a long period." (*Neue Rheinzeitung*, Aachen, 23 December 1966)

In *reality* the practical policy is designed to prevent any public debate on the emergency laws. This became obvious in the course of the parliamentary session on 18 January 1967 when Lücke and Benda from the CDU/CSU together with Schmidt and Jahn from the social democratic parliamentary group were involved in an extremely heated debate against FDP members of parliament because they had "seriously embarrassed" Lücke with a number of questions on the emergency legislation (*Frankfurter Rundschau*, 19 Januar 1967). Helmut Schmidt, leader of the social democratic parliamentary group, seized the opportunity when some careful criticism was made by some FDP members on detailed questions of emergency legislation; he attacked them violently and threatened them by saying that they might perhaps

"in future" carefully consider "moving over from the right side of the house to the extreme left wing when emergency laws are being debated . . ." (*Das Parlament*, Hamburg, 1 February 1967)

Lücke strangled the debate with the remark that "this serious discussion should not (be dealt with) in a question hour but wait until the bill is ready to be submitted to the cabinet". (*Ibid.*)

An even more cunning camouflage of the essence of the emergency laws is characteristic of the present tactics of the emergency politicians. Moreover, they do not hesitate from playing with the most elementary needs of the population. In contrast to the actual facts it is said that the emergency laws were born out of concern for the well-being of the people. According to DPA of 4 January 1967, Lücke said that the emergency constitution pursued the aim of "safeguarding the supplies for the civilian population in case of emergency and protecting democratic order."

Friedrich Schäfer, social democratic member of the Bundestag, blows the same horn. In his book with the characteristic title "Die Notstandsgesetze—Vorsorge für den Menschen und den demokratischen Rechtsstaat" (Emergency Laws—Care for the People and the Democratic State), he maintains that the emergency laws "serve to prevent the occurrence of an emergency situation; if the event does take place, they serve the purpose

of helping the people". The emergency laws provide "that every individual will know that his food, his medical care and all necessities of life are guaranteed in every situation". (Quotation from the book mentioned above, p. 9)

The cynism of this "argumentation" can hardly be surpassed. Laws for the purpose of manoeuvring the Federal Republic into a situation which can result in the annihilation of millions of lives are passed off as "welfare laws"!

The *truth* is: The draft of the emergency constitution, finished and presented and stamped by the aims of the Kiesinger/Strauss government, embodies the same reactionary spirit of all former drafts and has even been sharpened in some respects.

On 27 January 1967 Lücke admitted in a letter sent to the Essen Ortskuratorium "Notstand der Demokratie" that the drafts of the emergency constitution have not been modified but are based "on former conceptions of the Erhard government".

This proves that the emergency constitution—now as before—aims at opening the way for the ruling circles to the complete annulment of the Constitution and the establishment of a tightly centralized dictatorial regime of a neo-fascist character. The emergency constitution, also in the hands of the Kiesinger/Strauss government, is to be the instrument for

completely depriving the Bundestag and the parliamentary bodies in the provinces and municipalities of their reights;

subordinating all spheres of life to their course of expansion by acting together with the "emergency parliament" in passing emergency decrees;

tightly centralizing West German administration and the entire financial system and evading any effective parliamentary control;

abolishing essential fundamental rights and liberties of the West German population or restricting them to a great degree;

using the Bundeswehr in supplementation of the police forces to suppress all opposition forces.

Frontal Attack on Workers' Rights

The main blow of the planned emergency dictatorship is still aimed against the West German workers and their democratic rights.

Externally the CDU/CSU politicians in cosy partnership with social democratic leaders assert that the "recognized rights of the workers" are not to be infringed upon.

Lücke says:

"The emergency legislation cannot be proclaimed against the working class, or against the trade unions." (*Bild-Zeitung*, Hamburg, 3 May 1966)

The leading bodies of West German social democracy maintain:

"There is agreement on the fact that labour disputes are not a case of internal emergency." (F. Schäfer, *op. cit.*, p. 157)

The truth is that the results and effects of the planned emergency dictatorship would be extremely serious for the West German working class and their trade unions.

It is precisely the characteristic tactics of the rulers in Bonn to include all necessary prerequisites in the emergency laws in order to bring the activity of the trade unions to a standstill, but exclude a formal annulment of the association right, as guaranteed in Article 9, section 3 of the Constitution.

Hence the initiators of the emergency legislation maintain that a "protection clause for labour disputes", to be included in the emergency constitution law, would further guarantee the rights of the trade unions contained in Article 9, section 3 of the Constitution—in particular the right to strike. Article 91, section 6 of the most recent draft of the emergency constitution of 31 May 1965 states: The emergency authorizations "are not to be employed in the case of labour struggles for the protection and promotion of working and economic conditions led by associations in the spirit of article 9, section 3".

This legal clause which pretends to protect the West German workers' right to strike, in reality opens the way for yet another rigorous restriction.

For a long time labour struggles—through the reactionary representatives of West German labour jurisprudence and the jurisdiction of labour courts—have been given an ever more arbitrary interpretation; not to mention what the absolute dictatorship would recognize as labour struggle in a period of so-called emergency. If only for these reasons, the argument of a protective clause for labour struggles must be recognized as an obvious deception. There is all the more reason to doubt it since the legal committee of the Bundestag expressly stated, in justifying the emergency constitution:

"The question, hotly debated in scientific and legal circles, as to how far labour struggles are guaranteed by the Constitution, or what legal or other measures can be taken against labour disputes under the necessity of maintaining general welfare, remains open and is not to be settled by this regulation." (German Bundestag, *zu Drucksache IV/3494*)

Hence the alleged protective clause hides a complete set of directions for use in order to liquidate the rights of the workers in various ways. Thus the introduction of *compulsory labour service for civilians* envisaged in the bill on labour service will annul the right to strike and the right to form unions. With the compulsory labour service for all men from the age of 18 to 65 and all women from the age of 18 to 55 it is possible.

firstly, for every employed person to be forced by a so-called compulsory labour service to remain in a

particular job or in certain circumstances do inferior work;

secondly, for every employee to be sent on compulsory labour service to another factory or place of work strategic for armament and the conduct of war; the person who has been sent on compulsory labour service is not allowed to change his place of work without the consent of the so-called enrolment authority;

thirdly, for every man and every woman who is subject to compulsory labour service and who is at present not working to be bound to work in the armament industry or engaged for other military purposes, serving the preparation of war;

fourthly, for a compulsory labour association whose members are quartered in barracks and wear uniforms to be formed as a so-called auxiliary service.

Civilian service obligations deprive the workers of disposal over their own labour power. Exactly as under Hitler, the so-called civilian service employer—i. e., the state or private capitalist employer, becomes the unrestricted master of the workers obliged to work for him. This is further underlined by the strict penal provisions, in particular in the case of refusal to perform civilian services.

It is possible on the basis of the civilian service regulations to transform nearly all work relations into "special service relations under public law". Persons under those regulations are thus subject to a semi-military relationship of command and subordination, in which the individual deliberate or negligent staying away from work may be punished by imprisonment.

Dictatorial Powers for Organs of Coercion

The organs of coercion of the West German state are to be vested with almost unlimited dictatorial powers, in order to nip in the bud any resistance by the West German population against the fatal course pursued by the ruling circles. Detailed plans to this effect are lying in readiness in the drawers of the minister of the interior. They include the "Emergency Regulation on the Competency of the Authorities for the Protection of the Constitution and the Federal Criminal Bureau". (See illustration p. 135)

That emergency regulation means:

All organs for the Protection of the Constitution will in an "emergency" be under a central commanding authority, the provincial parliaments and governments being excluded. In connection with the subordination of the Office for the Protection of the Constitution under the Federal Chancellery, that organ of dictatorship becomes subject, down to its last unit, to the instructions of the West German chancellor.

The Office for the Protection of the Constitution is vested with executive powers in regard to the prosecution of so-called political offences, which means that it

The emergency decree on the authority of the Office for the Protection of the Constitution and the federal criminal investigation department specifies that in case of "emergency" the Office for the Protection of the Constitution comes directly under the federal chancellor and that he has the power of arrest and other reprisals against democratic-

thinking citizens, without a written inquiry order being necessary. The federal criminal investigation department is also subordinate to the federal chancellor. In this way the West German Office for the Protection of the Constitution is granted power which in Hitler Germany only Himmler's Gestapo had.

Bundesgesetzblatt

Sonderausgabe Nr.

Notverordnung über die Befugnisse der Behörden des Verfassungsschutzes und des Bundeskriminalamtes

Auf Grund der ihr erteilten Ermächtigung verordnet die Bundesregierung mit Gesetzeskraft:

ABSCHNITT I

Befugnisse der Behörden des Verfassungsschutzes

§ 1

Die gemäß § 2 Abs. 2 des Gesetzes über die Zusammenarbeit des Bundes und der Länder in Angelegenheiten des Verfassungsschutzes vom 27. September 1950 (Bundesgesetzbl. I S. 682) zur Bearbeitung von Angelegenheiten des Verfassungsschutzes bestimmten Landesbehörden unterliegen den Weisungen des Bundesamtes für Verfassungsschutz. Soweit diese Landesbehörden für Maßnahmen, die ihre Bediensteten betreffen, nicht zuständig sind, unterliegen die zuständigen Landesbehörden den Weisungen des Bundesamtes für Verfassungsschutz.

§ 2

(1) Liegen zureichende tatsächliche Anhaltspunkte dafür vor, daß eine strafbare Handlung begangen worden ist, zu deren Aburteilung eines der in den §§ 74 a und 134 des Gerichtsverfassungsgesetzes genannten Gerichte im ersten Rechtszug zuständig ist, und ist die Polizei vorübergehend an der Strafverfolgung gehindert, so können das Bundesamt für Verfassungsschutz und seine Beamten sowie die in § 1 Satz 1 genannten Landesbehörden und ihre Beamten bei Gefahr im Verzuge alle keinen Aufschub duldenden Maßnahmen treffen, um die Strafverfolgung und die Beweise zu sichern.

(2) In dem Verfahren nach Absatz 1 sind die Vorschriften der Strafprozeßordnung und des Gesetzes über den unmittelbaren Zwang bei Ausübung öffentlicher Gewalt durch Vollzugsbeamte des Bundes vom 16. März 1951 (Bundesgesetzblatt I S. 165) anzuwenden. Die dem gehobenen und mittleren Dienst angehörenden Beamten der Verfassungsschutzbehörden, die nicht als Leiter selbständiger Dienststellen tätig sind, sind im Rahmen des Absatzes 1 Hilfsbeamte der Staatsanwaltschaft.

ABSCHNITT II

Befugnisse des Bundeskriminalamtes

§ 3

Die Landeskriminalämter und die örtlichen Dienststellen der Kriminalpolizei unterliegen den Weisungen des Bundeskriminalamtes. Richtet sich eine Weisung an eine örtliche Dienststelle der Kriminalpolizei, so soll das zuständige Landeskriminalamt unverzüglich benachrichtigt werden.

§ 4

Das Bundeskriminalamt und seine Beamten können die Aufgaben der Polizei auf dem Gebiete der Strafverfolgung auch in anderen als den in § 4 Abs. 2 des Gesetzes über die Einrichtung eines Bundeskriminalpolizeiamtes vom 8. März 1951 (Bundesgesetzbl. I S. 165) genannten Fällen wahrnehmen, wenn sie dies für erforderlich halten. Die zuständige oberste Landesbehörde soll hiervon unverzüglich benachrichtigt werden. Die §§ 5 und 6 Abs. 1 des Gesetzes über die Einrichtung eines Bundeskriminalpolizeiamtes vom 8. März 1951 (Bundesgesetzbl. I S. 165) gelten entsprechend mit folgenden Maßgaben:

1. Ein schriftlicher Ermittlungsauftrag ist nicht erforderlich.
2. Hilfsbeamte der Staatsanwaltschaft sind die Beamten des kriminalpolizeilichen Vollzugsdienstes bis einschließlich der Besoldungsgruppe A II, soweit sie nicht als Leiter selbständiger Dienststellen tätig sind.

ABSCHNITT III

Schlußvorschriften

§ 5

Der Bundesminister des Innern erläßt die zur Durchführung dieser Notverordnung erforderlichen Verwaltungsvorschriften.

§ 6

Diese Notverordnung tritt mit sofortiger Wirkung in Kraft.

Die Bundesregierung

Geheim

The emergency decree on the Federal Frontier Guard (see facsimiles) specifies that it can be employed in any part of West Germany if "public safety and order is threatened".

Thus, for example, as civil war troops against striking workers. The emergency decree further places the Federal Frontier Guard under the authority of the Bundeswehr.

GEHEIM Bundesgesetzblatt

Sonderausgabe Nr. 14

Notverordnung für den Bundesgrenzschutz

Auf Grund der ihr erteilten Ermächtigung verordnet die Bundesregierung mit Gesetzeskraft:

§ 1

Der Bundesgrenzschutz kann auch außerhalb des in § 2 des Gesetzes über den Bundesgrenzschutz und die Einrichtung von Bundesgrenzschutzbehörden vom 16. März 1951 (Bundesgesetzblatt I S. 201) bezeichneten Gebietes eingesetzt werden.

§ 2

Der Bundesgrenzschutz kann außer zu den im § 2 des Gesetzes über den Bundesgrenzschutz und die Einrichtung von Bundesgrenzschutzbehörden genannten Aufgaben im Rahmen der geltenden Gesetze auch zur Abwehr von Gefahren, durch die die öffentliche Sicherheit oder Ordnung bedroht wird, eingesetzt werden. Dies gilt insbesondere für die Abwehr von Gefahren, die den Bestand oder die freiheitliche demokratische Grundordnung des Bundes oder eines Landes bedrohen.

§ 3

(1) Zu den Aufgaben des Bundesgrenzschutzes gehört es auch:

1. gegen ihn gerichtete militärische Angriffe abzuwehren und
2. unter Ausnutzung seiner besonderen Kenntnisse der Grenzverhältnisse militärische Bewegungen des Gegners den Streitkräften zu melden.

(2) Soweit in dieser Notverordnung nichts anderes bestimmt ist, findet bei Durchführung der im Absatz 1 genannten Aufgaben das Gesetz über den unmittelbaren Zwang bei Ausübung öffentlicher Gewalt durch Vollzugsbeamte des Bundes vom 10. März 1961 (Bundesgesetzblatt I S. 165) keine Anwendung.

§ 4

Der Bundesgrenzschutz ist ein Teil der bewaffneten Macht der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. Die ihm angehörenden Polizeivollzugsbeamten und sonstigen uniformierten Beamten sind berechtigt, mit der Waffe an militärischen Kampfhandlungen teilzunehmen. Sie haben dabei die Regeln des Kriegsvölkerrechts zu beachten.

§ 5

(1) Die Erfüllung der in den §§ 2 und 3 dieser Notverordnung genannten Aufgaben gehört zu den Dienstpflichten der Polizeivollzugsbeamten und der sonstigen uniformierten Beamten des Bundesgrenzschutzes.

(2) § 7 des Gesetzes über den unmittelbaren Zwang bei Ausübung öffentlicher Gewalt durch Vollzugsbeamte des Bundes ist auf alle Anordnungen, die von Vorgesetzten an die in Absatz 1 genannten Beamten gerichtet werden, entsprechend anzuwenden.

§ 6

Unbeschadet der in § 1 Absatz 2 Satz 1 des Gesetzes über den Bundesgrenzschutz und die Einrichtung von Bundesgrenzschutzbehörden getroffenen Regelung können der Bundesminister des Inneren oder die von ihm ermächtigten Dienststellen Teile des Bundesgrenzschutzes vorübergehend den Behörden eines Landes oder in den Fällen des § 3 den Streitkräften unterstellen.

§ 7

(1) Für die Polizeivollzugsbeamten und die sonstigen uniformierten Beamten des Bundesgrenzschutzes gelten die §§ 2 bis 14, 19 bis 39, 41 bis 58 und 75 Absatz 1 des Wehrstrafgesetzes mit folgenden Maßgaben:

Es tritt an die Stelle

des Soldaten der Polizeivollzugsbeamte oder sonstige uniformierte Beamte des Bundesgrenzschutzes

des Offiziers oder Unteroffiziers der Bundeswehr der Offizier oder Meister (SB) und Wachtmeister (SP) des Bundesgrenzschutzes

des militärischen Vorgesetzten der Vorgesetzte der Polizeivollzugsbeamten und sonstigen uniformierten Beamten des Bundesgrenzschutzes einer Truppe oder Dienststelle der Bundeswehr eine Einheit oder Dienststelle des Bundesgrenzschutzes

des Befehls die dienstliche Anordnung die Sicherheit oder Schlagkraft der Truppe die Sicherheit oder Einsatzfähigkeit der Einheit oder Dienststelle des Bundesgrenzschutzes der militärischen Dienstpflicht die Dienstverpflichtung zum Wehrdienst.

Geheim

Bundesgesetzblatt, Sonderausgabe Nr. 14

(3) Die §§ 19 bis 36 des Wehrstrafgesetzes sind auch anzuwenden, wenn nach einer Unterstellung von Teilen des Bundesgrenzschutzes unter die Bundeswehr ein Befehl von einem Vorgesetzten erteilt wird, der Soldat der Bundeswehr ist, oder wenn eine Straftat gegen einen Vorgesetzten oder Untergebenen begangen wird, der Soldat der Bundeswehr ist.

Vorgesetzter im Sinne des Satzes 1 ist nur derjenige militärische Truppenführer, dem der Bundesminister des Inneren oder die von ihm ermächtigte Dienststelle Teile des Bundesgrenzschutzes unmittelbar unterstellt hat.

(4) § 10 der Ersten Notverordnung zur Ergänzung des Strafrechts (Bundesgesetzbl. Sonderausgabe

Nr. 11) findet auf die Polizeivollzugsbeamten und sonstigen uniformierten Beamten des Bundesgrenzschutzes keine Anwendung.

§ 8

Auf Polizeivollzugsbeamte und sonstige uniformierte Beamte des Bundesgrenzschutzes, die Aufgaben des Grenzschutzeinzeldienstes wahrnehmen, finden die Bestimmungen dieser Notverordnung keine Anwendung.

§ 9

Diese Notverordnung tritt mit sofortiger Wirkung in Kraft.

Die Bundesregierung

is accorded general authorization to conduct arbitrary arrests and other measures of repression against democratically minded citizens.

In addition, the above-mentioned emergency regulation will extend the competency of the criminal police machinery of coercion. § 4 expressly provides that the Federal Criminal Bureau may be entrusted with actions in the sphere of criminal prosecution reaching beyond the scope of its former tasks.

It was further stipulated that no written warrant for preliminary investigations is required. This opens the doors to the arbitrary persecution of all undesirable elements according to the example of the nazi Gestapo. At the same time the subordination of the provincial criminal investigation bureaus and local criminal police services to the instructions of the federal chancellor is to be ensured, so that this system of police coercion can reach into the most remote community.

The aims and purposes of the emergency regulations are revealed as though by a flash of lightning in the "Emergency Regulation on the Protection of the Federal Frontiers".

According to that regulation the frontier guards, which are riddled with nazi officers, may be employed in all regions of West Germany.

Up to the present time the range of operation of the frontier guards has been limited to a zone with a depth of 30 kilometres along the frontiers. This intention in itself shows that the term "frontier guards" was intended to conceal the purpose of that civil war troop.

The manoeuvres of the Federal Frontier Guards give eloquent testimony of this fact. In October 1965 those troops conducted detailed exercises in the area of Mörfelden (Hesse) for operations against striking workers and beating down protest demonstrations. During the same period joint exercises of police units and troops of the Federal Frontier Guards were held for operations against allegedly subversive forces among the workers. Operational games to combat strikes and so-called internal unrest have in particular formed part of the permanent training and instruction program of the units of the Frontier Guards.

The "Emergency Regulation" on the Protection of the Federal Frontier" is to legalize that kind of operation, exercised for a long time and aimed against the population, above all against the workers of West Germany. Under the pretext of having to restore "public safety and order", every action by the West German workers for the implementation of elementary political and social demands and even wage strikes could be beaten down by military force. This is the main function of the Frontier Guards in the event of an "emergency", and that is why Minister of the Interior Lücke declared in the middle of February 1967 in an interview with the information service of Bonn *Politik und Wirtschaft* that the planned strength of the Frontier Guards of 20,000 men was insufficient.

In view of those facts it becomes clear why the Kiesinger/Strauss government goes around spreading the fairy-tale about the "democratic emergency constitution," and why it impudently denies the existence of roughly 60 secret emergency regulations. At the session of the Bundestag of 18 February 1967 Lücke had the nerve to assert that the

"mysterious alleged bottom-drawer laws... do not exist."

This is a criminal game which is being played with the German people.

The existence of a perfected secret program of emergency regulations is being denied to the *outside world*—but *in truth* it has already been tested under "war-like" conditions in the "Fallex 66" manoeuvre, and its further "perfection" is going ahead feverishly.

In May 1966 the GDR informed world public opinion among other things about the content of the "Emergency Regulation on Security Measures", which is to authorize the Bonn government to set up protective custody camps according to the model of the notorious Hitler concentration camps.

If the emergency regulation "does not exist", why should the federal government be making such a feverish effort to gather experience in regard to the "internment" of opposition citizens and the establishment of "protective custody camps"?

It is proved that "The (West) German ambassadors in five western capitals were instructed by a decree issued by the Foreign Office on 18 November 1966 (reg. nr. II A 7-85-30-1-4989-1966-VS Vert.) to investigate whether in their host countries there were 'legal foundations' for such camps, or whether such foundations 'could be provided in the near future'. The diplomats were requested to exercise 'great discretion in dealing with this matter,' in particular in conducting their enquiries with the 'competent authorities of the host country'." (*Frankfurter Hefte*, 1967, No. 1, p. 2)

According to the West German news agency, State Secretary Schütz of the Foreign Office in Bonn was forced to admit those machinations on 18 January 1967.

The West German trade union paper *Welt der Arbeit*, Cologne, on 4 February 1967 sharply condemned these plans for the reestablishment of the notorious Hitler concentration camps:

"The term 'protective custody' recalls the most terrible memories in our country. The government must therefore not be allowed even to play with the thought of an institution of that kind."

If, in view of these undisputed facts the social democratic Minister Carlo Schmid stated on 23 January 1967 that the government draft of the emergency regulation would bear "social democratic features", then this could only mean that the social democratic ministers in the Kiesinger/Strauss government are unreservedly backing the course directed towards emergency dictatorship.

Securing Power by Electoral Reform

In his government declaration of 13 December 1966 Kiesinger officially confirmed expressly and with the approval of the social democratic ministers, the reactionary reformation of the electoral law sought by the CDU/CSU for years. According to his pronouncements during the present legislative period "a new electoral law is to be basically established, which will enable clear majorities after 1969 for future elections to the (West) German Bundestag... The possibility of a transitional electoral law for elections to the Bundestag in 1969 is being considered by the government."

The main points of this planned reform of the electoral law are:

- introduction of the majority electoral right,
- extension of the legislative period of the Bundestag to five years,
- uniformity of terms for the elections of provincial parliaments throughout the whole of the Federal Republic.

At the same time a party law has been submitted for decision. It is intended as a further barrier against the foundation of democratic parties and as an instrument to safeguard parliamentary parties against any democratic influences. The political parties in Bonn are thus to be tied even more firmly to their function of excluding the people from state political decisions.

In connection with this party law the electoral reform is to safeguard the effective and exclusive rule of the CDU/CSU as the leading party of monopoly capital, and at the same time pave the way for monopoly to juggle with three balls—the CDU/CSU, Social Democracy and the openly neo-nazi NPD. This is to exclude the development of a genuine parliamentary opposition.

To the outside world the spokesmen of the electoral reform allege that this project was born as a result of concern about "parliamentary democracy".

In truth the drive for the reactionary formation of the electoral law arose from the striving of the monopoly capitalist bourgeoisie for totalitarian rule.

The election practices used hitherto in Bonn already show that genuinely democratic formation of opinion and free decisions by the people are excluded under the conditions of the unlimited power of the monopolies. According to Article 38, section 1 of the Basic Law the deputies of the Bundestag are to be elected "by general, direct, free, equal and secret ballot". In practice, however, these bourgeois-parliamentarian election principles have been increasingly undermined and elections degraded to a means for pseudo-democratic legitimization of the anti-popular imperialist West German system of power. Professor Karl Jaspers aptly observed in this connection:

"Even the elections are not really elections, but an acclamation of party oligarchy." (K. Jaspers, "Wohin treibt die Bundesrepublik?", p. 131)

Even the minimal scope of influence still left to West German voters is today irksome to the Kiesinger/Strauss government. That is why the electoral reform is to continue to deprive voters of all chances of independent decisions.

The Springer paper *Die Welt* plainly remarked in regard to the planned extension of the legislative period of the Bundestag:

The government should not always have to "feel hampered" by electoral results, "if confronted with the need to make unpopular decisions." Thereby the reason why Strauss would like to see the legislative period of the Bundestag extended to "at least five years" and why Gerstenmaier openly pleads for an extension to six years is admitted. The Kiesinger/Strauss government would like to evade the vote of electors for as long as possible. To that purpose it freely ignores the constitutional provision of Art. 39 of the Constitution, according to which the Bundestag is to be elected for a period of "four years".

Since the formal holding of elections cannot altogether be abandoned an electoral law is to be introduced having an appearance of democracy but being suited to safeguarding the totalitarian rule of the party oligarchy against all genuinely oppositional influences, and to misuse the elections to an even greater extent for the manipulation and falsification of the will of voters.

As early as 1963 Professor Ferdinand A. Hermens, one of the propagators of the majority election principle wrote:

"It is an illusion to believe that the limitation of proportions can in the long run safeguard democracy. This is possible during "clear sailing periods" of economic boom; yet there will be a change as soon as economic and political developments take a less favourable turn. Even today there are enough provinces where the communist left wing greatly exceeds the five per cent mark, so that... control could therefore not be assured by such means." (*Die Zeit*, Hamburg, 26 April 1963)

This clearly indicates that the decisive motive for introducing the majority principle is the fear of the ruling imperialist circles of a democratic movement arising as a result of the inevitable sharpening of internal contradictions. The majority principle, which in effect is a minority principle because a large percentage of votes would not be considered, is intended as the decisive barrier against the appearance of any oppositional democratic party in parliament.

Lücke *therefore* considers the introduction of the majority vote principle to be "one of the main tasks of the government"; *that is why* Barzel describes this measure as "essential"; *that is why* Springer's *Die Welt* of 13 December 1966 called it the "core of the state reform"—the "most important constitutional undertaking of the Kiesinger/Strauss government."

The following statement by the big bourgeois *Die Welt* of 6 December 1966 significantly points out the

unscrupulous way in which the CDU/CSU subjects the electoral law to the aims of their power-politics:

"As long as the CDU/CSU needed the Free Democrats as coalition partners or as reserve the existing electoral law was a sacred cow. We have now reached the stage when that cow can be slaughtered."

In this urge to instal the two-party system dictated by anti-democratic aims, the CDU/CSU knows it has the agreement of the social democratic ministers in the Kiesinger/Strauss government. In full awareness of the reactionary intention of the CDU/CSU pursued by the introduction of the majority vote, they gave their consent to the electoral reform. Wehner stated as early as 1963:

"It seems important to me that we should introduce the majority principle according to the example of England. All obstacles still preventing this should be removed. Proportional election does not constitute an item in the program of my party." (*Die Welt*, Hamburg, 1 April 1963)

This statement as well as the assent of the social democratic ministers to the electoral reform proclaimed by Kiesinger leads to the conclusion that the social democratic leaders are prepared to assist in the exclusion of all genuinely democratic opposition and the cementing of the power of the CDU/CSU. That group has clearly expressed its intentions. Kiesinger repeatedly stated that the electoral reform was to "bring about the institutional separation" of the coalition partners. (*Bulletin des Presse- und Informationsamtes der Bundesregierung*, Bonn, 13 December 1966) This means that the CDU/CSU intends to win in absolute majority with the aid of the reactionary electoral reform with a view to the subsequent removal of the social democratic ministers.

Professor Wilhelm Hennis, another proponent of the majority vote openly proclaimed that intention:

"As an overwhelming majority, the CDU would immediately get rid of the SPD as soon as it could govern alone. And rightly so!" (*Die Zeit*, Hamburg, 16 December 1966)

All this goes to show that it is shameless demagoguery and conscious misleading of the West German public when the protagonists of the electoral reform claim that the introduction of the majority vote was intended to prevent the penetration of the neo-nazi NPD to the Bundestag. With full justification the West German publicist Dr. Arno Klönne stressed, that

"The destiny of that party (or differently viewed, the destiny of West German democracy) does not depend

on manipulations of the electoral law, but on whether the reasons for the NPD success are allowed to exist or are eliminated. In the former case the NPD will even risk the hurdle of majority vote.

"If we had had the majority vote under the Weimar Republic, the nazi party would have triumphed sooner. The question also arises as to whether NPD deputies in parliament would be more dangerous than those of the CDU/CSU who, intent on pocketing the votes of NPD adherents take over their policy. And besides, Wehner and Lücke had already suggested the majority vote at a time when the NPD had not yet appeared on the horizon." (*Die Tat*, Frankfurt-on-Main, 17 December 1966)

Statements full of deep concern about political developments in the country, by responsible elements concerning the planned reform, correspond to the true situation:

"If the change of the electoral law should be effected in Bonn there would be three categories of voters in the Federal Republic. Voters who cannot vote because their party is prohibited; voters who are obliged to elect a party which they basically do not want to elect; and finally, voters who support one of the leading parties out of a greater or lesser conviction. The old three-class electoral law of royal Prussia would be revived in a somewhat modernized form... The basic Law is incompatible in its whole structure with this kind of violation of the will of voters." (*Nürnberger Nachrichten*, 5 January 1967)

"The planned electoral reform... is intended as a means to free the Great Coalition from the unpleasant troublemaker, to deprive all oppositional trends within the party of all means to form a new party, and thus ultimately lining up parliament and the parties." (Dr. A. Klönne in *Die Tat*, Frankfurt-on-Main, 17 December 1966)

"The introduction of the majority vote appears to be the appropriate way of preventing the development of all democratic alternatives to the policy of the coalition partners of the year 1966!... Whether the main characters on the stage of the Great Coalition will be able to materialize their various projects, including manipulation of the electoral law, will only depend on the attitude of the public, of responsibly thinking people within the parties, of the attitude of all of us towards those things—whether we shall let it happen or whether we are prepared to defend with all our strength the preservation of the Basic Law in word and deed." (Professor R. Riembeck, *Deutsche Volkszeitung*, Düsseldorf, 6 January 1967)

Manipulation of People in the Spirit of Expansion and Neo-nazism

THE MISSED HOUR OF INTELLECTUAL REGENERATION

Lessons of the War

The norms of international law laid down at Potsdam after the defeat of German fascism also laid the foundations for the regeneration of intellectual life in Germany in as much as they provided, that:

"...all nazi and militarist propaganda and activity must be prevented."

And elsewhere:

"German education shall be so controlled as completely to eliminate nazi and militarist doctrines and to make possible the successful development of democratic ideas."

The nazi regime had from the start brutally manifested to the world its hostility to cultural and intellectual values. Not only the humanist ideas of the German people, but also irreplaceable cultural values of other nations were destroyed, burnt and banned in Germany by the evil spirit of fascism. The new start in 1945 had also brought the hour of intellectual reorientation to the population of West Germany after the bleak night of intellectual bondage and the horrors of war. The democratic forces sought the way to intellectual regeneration. Power should no longer destroy the spirit, but make possible the development of democratic ideas.

Thus the provisions of the Potsdam Agreement for an intellectual reorientation and the humanist, democratic

rebirth also profoundly corresponded to the interest of the West German population.

Formally even the West German Basic Law alleges the intention to respect the norms of international law, the will of the people and thus also the demands laid down in the Potsdam Agreement for an intellectual anti-fascist, democratic reorientation. Article 25 provides:

"The general rules of international law form part of federal law. They have priority over the laws and establish direct rights and obligations for the inhabitants of the Federal Republic."

Two decades after Potsdam the hollowness of that assertion is becoming evident. In the eyes of all the world it is apparent that

in West Germany the rules of international law were not observed during the past 20 years, but grossly disregarded and violated.

In West Germany the intellectual reconstruction demanded in 1945 was not implemented. Nor was anything done to deprive those forces of power which had twice plunged the world into blood-stained wars and had caused the greatest national catastrophe of Germany, nor was any fundamental intellectual discussion conducted about the causes of the First and Second

World Wars, or a consistent settling of accounts with fascism and the causes of nazi dictatorship undertaken.

In West Germany not only was the old conservative evil spirit of chauvinism, militarism and nazism preserved, nurtured and cultivated, but systematically extended and consolidated by the development of a new evil spirit. Kurt R. Grossmann, general secretary of the German League for Human Rights in the Weimar Republic, was recently obliged to admit:

"Wherever I travelled in the course of my eleventh post-war journey in the Federal Republic, the negative outweighed the positive . . . German nationalism is expanding . . . Indeed, the face of the Federal Republic has changed—and no one can assert that it has become more friendly or peaceful." (*Rheinischer Merkur*, Cologne, 21 January 1966, p. 14)

The signs of nationalist, neo-nazi and chauvinist evil at present flooding West Germany in a powerful wave and welling out of all holes and corners into the daylight is not a spontaneous or coincidental phenomenon. It is predominantly the desired and deliberate product of one of the most vicious and dangerous forms of imperialist domination: the all-sided intellectual and psychological manipulation of people.

Today all the chauvinistic garbage, ferocious anti-communism, anti-humanism, spiritual deformation and political disorientation accumulated and produced for years in the minds of men has been set in motion, the neo-nazi and revanchist poison systematically poured in directly or indirectly drop by drop, whether by the state institutions for the manipulation of public opinion, Springer's propaganda factory, the soldiers' magazines, war memoirs, indecency, trash, brutality and sex in various forms of "mass" and entertainment culture.

Today it is becoming more apparent than ever that the political stupefaction, intellectual oppression, moral devaluation and de-humanization of people by the moulders of public opinion of the stripe of an Axel Springer are driving parts of the West German population to adopt attitudes and commit actions directed against their own historical experiences, against their own vital interests in peace, democracy and social security.

Despite the bitterest experiences of the last war, despite the knowledge about the destruction, victims and sufferings caused by it, parts of the West German people today fail to recognize the danger of the repetition of the same thing.

Although the West German people in their majority are opposed to militarism, having personally experienced its dangerous nature and desire peace, they permit West German militarism once again to threaten peace and thus also their own existence and life.

Despite the historic and personal experiences of the misfortune caused by fascism, the majority of the West German population, under the influence of the manipulation allow nationalism and neo-nazism today to expand in West Germany to a horrifying degree.

New Dagger-Thrust Legend

Years of raging anti-communism and anti-humanism, the degeneration of thought and intellectual tutelage thus created the prerequisites for the present expansion of the evil spirit of neo-nazism in West Germany. Where is the citizen of the Federal Republic given room for thorough consideration of the causes of the First and Second World Wars, of the causes of the nazi dictatorship, when the highest representative of that state, Federal President Lübke, describes the first post-war years as a "time of profound humiliation of our fatherland"? (*Bulletin des Presse- und Informationsamtes der Bundesregierung*, Bonn, 19 July 1966)

Humiliation can only be felt by one who considers himself treated unjustly. In this connection the standard speaker for NPD meetings, Udo Walendy, is in noteworthy agreement with the federal president. Walendy prefers to lecture on the theme: "Truth for Germany". In 1963 he published a book in the Verlag für Volkstum und Zeitgeschichte, Vlotho/Weser entitled "*Wahrheit für Deutschland—Die Schuldfrage des zweiten Weltkrieges*". The publishers advertise Walendy's book with the following words:

"The first book by a young German historian on the question of war guilt . . . This book proves that enforced dogmas of 'German guilt' cannot divert German youth from objective historical research and to the renunciation of vital German rights. The thesis of the 'guilt' of Germany for the Second World War has been disproved."

Franz-Josef Strauss also proved his ambitions in the field of historical research, when he stated in the debate on Erhard's government declaration in the West German Bundestag:

"The German people must not be degraded to a nation with criminal instincts as an object of the blurring of history, or perpetually defamed as a potential danger to its neighbours and to world peace." They had "a right to claim recognition as a normal nation . . ." (German Bundestag, 8th session, Bonn, 30 November 1965, shorthand protocol, p. 159 ff.)

The moral theologian Professor Helmut Thielicke had previously formulated what Strauss proclaimed to the public from the tribune of the Bundestag. He addressed his proposals in particular to academic youth:

"Put a stop to the effort to overcome the past . . . We must stop this witch-hunt and witch-mania if we do not want to miss the chance of mastering the present and the future over this permanent burrowing in our past." (*Christ und Welt*, Stuttgart, 27 March 1964)

Thus encouraged, Hartmut Schweiger, ideological instrument of former SS members, became quite specific in *Nation Europa*. He offered a coupling of the participation of West Germany in the NATO burdens and the rehabilitation of German fascism:

"If these vanquished are now to share in bearing the burden of the victors because times have changed, they

will for better or worse have to be allowed to cast off the prison uniform." (*Nation Europa*, Coburg, 1966, No. 12)

The press service of the neo-nazi NPD claims the right to speak in the name of the rising generation of West Germany: "The young German patriots who love their own people and fatherland have come of age." They do not want "Germany's lasting moral capitulation." (*Deutsche Nachrichten*, Hannover, 12 August 1966)

The sum of these avowals proves that a genuine spiritual relationship exists between the CDU/CSU and the neo-nazi NPD. The NPD ideologists say nothing that they had not previously been told by Lübke and Strauss. At best the NPD-nazis give even clearer formulations of previous utterances by representatives of these other parties. But the CDU/CSU and the NPD, outwardly behaving as an "opposition", are by no means opposed to each other. Professor Werner Hoffmann revealed the core of the reciprocity of the CDU/CSU and the NPD in establishing that

"right-wing radicalism today, in contrast to the Weimar Republic, is not opposed to the 'system'. It is rather flesh of its flesh, spirit of its spirit. It has no need to overthrow, it needs only to give a helping hand." (*Frankfurter Rundschau*, 3 January 1967)

THE NATIONALIST WAVE AFTER THE 13TH CDU-CONGRESS

Guiding Motive of the General Consumer

In the first post-war years the rulers in Bonn were above all concerned about the guiding motive of the "general consumer" willing to work. The motto advocated was "If you have something, you are someone" ('Hast Du was, dann bist Du was'), as the adequate ideological reflection of the period of restoration and provision for the "need to catch up". The federal citizen was encouraged to participate in the race for "social prestige". Time and again the CDU/CSU faced its electorate under the motto "no experiments".

Thus the German writer Peter Weiss, living in Stockholm, in 1965 found federal German society asleep:

"And even though in those regions where the fools in paradise fly about everything is simply bursting with effectiveness and upsurge, I can still see nothing but beings asleep in a mash, lying around smacking their lips and snoring and ruminating in their sleep, and when a voice calls out: brothers and sisters, everything is lovely, you will be led further towards your happiness, they only murmur a sleepy "hurrah", roll over on the other side and slumber on . . .

"That great sleeping body of West Germany which presents itself to my regard on the occasions of my visits to that country, and of which I perceive only a rattling in the throat and the outer signs of satiated dreams, shows nothing of the changes to have been expected

after the catastrophe which had swept across that country." ("Plädoyer für eine neue Regierung oder keine Alternative", Hamburg, 1965)

Rude Awakening

On 31 March 1965 the then Federal Chancellor Ludwig Erhard rudely aroused the federal population from that slumber, when, at the 13th Federal Congress of the CDU, he for the first time presented in concentrated form demands for a nationalistic engagement:

"The more clearly the bond between the German people and their state and fatherland becomes apparent, the more resolutely Germany confronts the world, the more will the latter be ready to understand us." (L. Erhard, "Programm für Deutschland", speech at the 13th Federal Congress of the CDU in Düsseldorf, 31 March 1965)

The entire party congress was held under the slogan "Germany is at stake". Thus the ruling party of monopoly capital gave the official starting signal for realizing its program of the formed society with the direct tasks "of restoring Germany's historic rank". ("Düsseldorf Declaration" of the CDU Federal Congress)

Since that congress the Bonn rulers have demanded the forming of an "all-social consciousness" and a "new appropriate national consciousness" of all federal citizens.

The representative of the monopolies and CDU Bundestag deputy Dr. Hans Dichgans said on the subject in the debate on Kiesinger's government declaration:

"Towards the end of the government declaration there were the words 'nation' and 'fatherland' with a slight stress. I registered this with grateful approval. A state is more than an association for the promotion of the economic welfare of its members. A state is a structure from the spiritual sphere. A vital state gives its citizens leading objectives, ideal conceptions, which are worth while making sacrifices for, and for which the citizen is also ready to make sacrifices . . ." (German Bundestag, 83rd session, Bonn, 16 December 1966, shorthand protocol, p. 3801 f.)

The Bundeswehr generals demanded at their "Soldier and Nation" meeting held at the Evangelical Academy in Loccum in February 1967, among other things, a "thorough revision of our traditional stock Nation and Armed Forces" with the aim of an "interplay between national ideal and military ideal". This was stated by Colonel Dr. Wolfgang von Groote of the Military History Research Office in Freiburg/Breisgau (*Hannoversche Presse*, 9 February 1967)

And Gerstenmaier defines as the most important "national" task "to resist pressure from all sides, and for the sake of peace and humanity be satisfied with what you have got". (*Bulletin des Presse- und Informationsamtes der Bundesregierung*, Bonn, 26 October 1966)

The aims cannot be clearer.

Means and methods of achieving the nationalist engagement of the citizens is the formed society which –already as a conception–has a suspicious similarity with the “people’s community” of national socialist coinage. And further. The formed society is called on, following an old election motto, to be effective beyond the borders of the Federal Republic with missionary zeal:

“The formed society is not a model which functions only in the shell of a nation state. Rather it can define the picture of a united Europe. Moreover, it is suited to be the leading idea for the reconstruction of our continent as also for the economic and social development of other peoples... and it will devour socialism... ideologically and politically...” (L. Erhard, “Programm für Deutschland...”, op. cit.)

With this claim a maxim is being revived which Kaiser Wilhelm II had already proclaimed:

“Am deutschen Wesen soll die Welt genesen! (The world shall recover through the German character!)” As far as the implementation of this revision of a chauvinist morality is concerned, their representatives think it is necessary to link the formation methods with their predecessor Hitler, “because from it elements of order, building stones of a formed society have been taken over which... must be fostered and developed”. (R. Opitz, “The big plan of the CDU: the ‘Formed Society’”, *Blätter für deutsche und internationale Politik*, Cologne, 1965, No. 9)

War in the Fourth Sphere

Naturally the “formation” of this society means the coordination of such citizens who do not wish to bring their attitude into conformity. For this reason Erhard frankly admits that the “formed society” needs “different modern techniques of governing and guiding the political will.” (L. Erhard, “Programm für Deutschland...”, op. cit.)

What Erhard paraphrased was formulated in fewer words already before the 13th congress by *Wehrkunde*, the official organ of the Bonn war ministry, when it wrote “that the psychological struggle in so-called peace was the main part, the sharp shooting only the final act of modern war. In the psychological war which we are waging... politics is drafting the strategic planning and is leading the operation of the larger units... The hot war is then only a part of it. Psychological attack is the war of the presence... psychological warfare that part of the military tasks whose arms elements are required already today for immediate operations.” (“War and Peace”, *Wehrkunde*, Munich, 1958, No. 9, p. 469)

A little later the demand is made that “modern strategy can no longer be satisfied with comprising only military means in one art, but that it must also integrate all political, economic, psychological and propaganda

means with the military ones into united rules of conduct.” (A. Dalma, “Berlin and the ‘absolute strategy’”, *Wehrkunde*, Munich, 1959, No. 7, p. 345)

“We have innumerable institutions..., they should –up to the conference of the provincial ministers of culture–be induced to engage in closer cooperation, even if it is only under the aspect of psychological war...” (*Wehrkunde*, Munich, 1960, No. 1, p. 5)

Later the same periodical shows still more clearly what it means when it says that modern war is being waged not only in the three conventional spheres–in the air, on land and on water–but that it also comprises a fourth sphere–the spiritual world of man:

“This fourth dimension is a war which cannot be shown on any strategic map, but it is wherever the press, radio or pictures can reach into the last village.

“The battles of a third world war, fought on the level of the fourth dimension, have long been in course, it is the struggle for the minds of the people of our world!” (F. Seering, “Press Freedom and Psychological Armament”, *Wehrkunde*, Munich, 1964, No. 9, p. 484)

Recourse to Hitler’s Psychology

Before arms were speaking in the Second World War, Hitler had also pulled all the registers of “spiritual war” on the propaganda apparatus at his disposal. He confessed:

“Compulsion was the reason I talked of nothing but peace for years. It was now necessary to bring about a psychological change in the German people and to make it clear to them that there are things which, if they cannot be attained by peaceful means, must be obtained by force. To this end, however, it was necessary to illuminate certain foreign political events to the German people in such a manner that the inner voice of the people themselves slowly began to cry for the use of force. This means, to present certain events in such a manner that in the minds of the broad masses of the people the conviction would emerge quite automatically and gradually: If this cannot be done in a peaceful way, than it must be done by force. Things cannot go on like this in any case.” (Hitler on 10 November 1938 before 400 representatives of the Nazi press at an evening reception in Munich. Quoted in *Vierteljahreshette für Zeitgeschichte*, Stuttgart, April 1958)

Compared to the propaganda apparatus which was at Hitler’s disposal that which the present-day rulers in the West German Federal Republic have constructed is more differentiated and extensive. What Hitler at that time reported on the “subjection of Germans living abroad” up to the slogan “home to the Reich” is now being repeated on the bigger mechanism of the means of mass communication with current slogans. Revanchism, sole representation pretension, nationalism and anti-communism have been propagated for years by the opinion-forming institutions. West German philosopher

Karl-Friedrich von Weizsäcker had this fact in mind when he rather more deplored than stated:

"The decent way to influence opinion is by convincing people. But not everyone is ready to be convinced. The path of conviction is a long one. The easier method is to manipulate opinion with the innumerable technical means, the functioning of which one can study and thus guide by careful sociological analysis . . . The soft exertion of power, the unnoticeable which does not make the person being influenced realize that he is not reacting to his free will, is much more effective, if one only understands its manipulation properly." (K. F. von Weizsäcker, "Only consciousness can master the future", *Die Welt*, Hamburg, 10 May 1965)

As far as this "soft exertion of power" is concerned, the rulers in Bonn have created a tremendous machinery in the past decades, "of which Goebbels may have dreamt, he who had the personal misfortune of having been restricted to the more primitive means of direct mass influence and bare faced fraud". (Werden, "Year Book for the German Trade Unions", Cologne, 1961)

THE STATE INSTRUMENTS OF INSTIGATION

Beginning at School

The chief aim of the intellectual and psychological manipulation is the socially tamed, politically disoriented citizen, loyal to the state, who actively supports the imperialist rule at home and who is at the same time ready—in the alleged interest of his personal liberty—to follow blindly and without reservations the aggressive, revanchist and anti-communist course of expansion of ruling monopoly capital.

The forming of this human begins already in school. It is continued in vocational training, at college and finally in the Bundeswehr. It is effective every hour as a result of the huge apparatus of the mass media such as the press, radio, television, film and literature. The process of the manipulation of the consciousness is guided directly and indirectly by state organs and organs of the monopolies and their associations which were established for this purpose.

Thereby this extensive spectrum is capable of giving the impression of a "pluralism" in spiritual-cultural and political life. At first an outsider can get the impression that he may choose between the various intellectual directions and form a "picture of his own" from the wealth of varied information.

Channelized System

In reality, however, a carefully channelized system of spiritual influence hides behind these possibilities. Today every Bonn ministry has special departments and facilities which are active in the sense of the total intel-

lectual-ideological manipulation of the population. The most important and influential state guiding organs are: the Press and Information Office of the Federal Government,

the Federal Centre for Political Education, the Permanent Conference of the Ministers of Culture, the Federal Work Group for German Eastern Studies in Instruction, the so-called Ministry for Expelled Persons, the Ministry for "All-German Affairs", the so-called Committee for an Indivisible Germany, the departments of cultural policy of the Ministries of the Interior and Foreign Affairs, the Advisory Council for Internal Leadership of the West German War Ministry.

A few examples of the activity of these organizations:

In the political and spiritual mass influencing steered by Bonn the *Press and Information Office of the Federal Government* with its more than 600 officials and employees has the function of a centre for state "public-relations work".

The Bonn federal budget contains a sum of some 100 million marks a year for centrally-guided mass propaganda. In 1966 alone the ominous budget title 300 of the Federal Chancellory comprised 12.5 million marks. Even in the so-called 1967 economy budget the sums earmarked for it were increased once more by 0.5 million marks to 13 million marks. This title hides the so-called reptile funds of the Federal Press Office. Neither the budget commission of the Bundestag nor any other parliamentary body may check on how these funds were spent.

The budget of sub-title 314—designed for enlightenment on "social investments" was more than doubled in 1967 compared to 1966. With its aid the population is to learn to understand the "prerequisites and the social aims" of the social dismantling of the Kiesinger/Strauss government.

If thus sub-title 314 serves primarily to veil social aggression then sub-title 315—designed for "public relations work abroad" is envisaged for the propagation of Bonn's sole representation pretension. The Kiesinger/Strauss government allocated for 1967 61.5 million marks in comparison to 55 million marks in 1966.

Federal Centre of Political Distortion

A key position in the system of political-ideological influence by the Bonn state is also occupied by the *Federal Centre for Political Education* (formerly, Federal Centre for Homeland Service). It is the successor organization of "Reich Centre for Homeland Service" founded in 1917. This institution was highly valued by Goebbels:

"In any case I can . . . say that we were always pleased when a new pamphlet by the Reich Centre for Homeland Service was published. These pamphlets were tremendously useful to us . . ." (Goebbels in a speech to the

press in Berlin on 16 March 1933, from "*Goebbels spricht, Reden aus Kampf und Sieg*", Oldenburg i.O., 1933, p. 60)

The tasks of the present Federal Centre can be outlined as follows:

It is the most important link between the Ministry of the Interior and organs of mass influence;

it adapts the anti-communist propaganda in extent, methods and tactical aims to the current requirements of the government;

it devotes particular attention to the strengthening of "Eastern studies" in the various educational institutions and social organizations;

it links direct contacts via its provincial offices with ministries of culture of the provinces and thus exercises a direct influence on television and radio;

including the provincial centres for political education attached to it since last year it "has put clearly recognizable emphasis on the problem 'nation and fatherland'". (Cf. *Die Welt*, Hamburg, 23 July 1966)

The Federal Centre publishes "Selected Works of Political Literature", convenes work congresses on the federal level, launches political articles, gives orders for newspapers and periodicals as well as documentary and feature films and publicizes them. It regularly issues "Information on Political Education" as well as the weekly *Das Parlament*. It owns an "Eastern College for Political Education" in Cologne which devotes special attention to the "spiritual-political dispute with communism" in its study sessions. In addition the Federal Centre organizes exhibitions and competitions—the latter in particular for pupils—with the aid of which it conducts active propaganda for the existing form of rule and political aims.

At the semi-annual session of the provincial centres and the Federal Centre for Political Education on 10 and 11 May 1966, a "work document on the German question in political education" was unanimously adopted and passed as a "general manual for all relevant offices and establishments"; it contains the entire revanchist and anti-communist program of the Bonn government:

"1. Germany, in the centre of Europe, grown together in a long historical process, has been unnaturally torn apart today because Hitler's policy of the 'thousand-year Reich' gambled away the result of a thousand-years of history and opened to Soviet communism the chance to extend its rule up to the Elbe-Werra line.

"2. The state territory of the German Reich in the frontiers of 1937 is at present divided into:

West Germany = the Federal Republic of Germany,
Central Germany = the Soviet occupation zone,
East Germany = the territories at present administered and settled by Poland or the USSR . . .

"The inhabitants of East Germany with the exception of a minority were forcibly driven from their homeland in 1945. Expressly renouncing the use of force they claim the right to their homeland. This claim is supported by the Bundestag and the federal government.

"The inhabitants of Central Germany live in the Soviet occupation zone and in East Berlin under a totalitarian system of Soviet communist coinage and do not possess the possibility freely to express their opinion and form their will.

"The inhabitants of West Germany and West Berlin live in a liberal-democratic constitutional order, whose central value is the dignity of man and which makes possible and protects the freedom of self-determination." (*Das Parlament*, Bonn, 8 June 1966, p. 12)

Conferences of Anti-culture

The Permanent Conference of the Ministers of Culture also has a special share in forming a uniform "state-consciousness" in the German Federal Republic. This institution of a bureaucratically centralized, monopoly-capitalist policy of education developed from a body which originally was to represent solely provincial interests with respect to the Federation. However, in the course of the past years, the conference of the ministers of culture increasingly became a central guiding organ for safeguarding a uniform politically-ideological line in the cultural policy of the provinces.

This conference and its organs represent in all fundamental questions the interests of the West German big bourgeoisie and implement its political and ideological conception up to the last branches in particular of the educational system. This becomes particularly evident in the field of "Eastern studies", for which the conference of the ministers of culture adopted on 5 July 1962 binding "directives for the treatment of totalitarianism in teaching". Their contents agree to a far-reaching extent with the already quoted directives for the treatment of the "German question" of the Federal Centre for Political Education. The directives of the conference of the ministers of culture, which are a document of especially vile anti-communism, deal in particular with the language regulations for the terms "brown dictatorship" and "red dictatorship" which are included under the catchword "totalitarianism". These directives are valid today as the general means of instruction in the whole West German school and educational system. They primarily concentrate on slandering the socialist states, especially the GDR.

Eastern Studies in Instruction

The Federal Work Community for German Eastern Studies in Instruction works in the same sense. Its special task is the realization of the general directives issued by the central organs of the Bonn state in concrete practical instruction. This work community in which the "experienced" experts in the propagation of fascist spirit as well as former leading nazi educators dominate is in the

first line guided and financed by the so-called Ministry for All-German Affairs and by the "Ministry for Expelled Persons". The work community maintains close contact with the Union of Expelled Persons and the "Landsmannschaften" (associations of fellow countrymen) affiliated to it.

"... The work community soon found benefactors in all provincial governments, money and moral support were given ... by authorities in which like-minded friends were working. The most active support was granted to the work community by the Federal Ministry for Expelled Persons, which paid for periodicals, pamphlets, lectures for teachers and students..." (K. Hermann, in *Die Zeit*, Hamburg, 9 April 1965)

The work community embraces a widely branched network of revanchist organizations:

- Work community of Sudeten German Educators,
- Work community of Silesian Educators,
- Work community of Danube-Swabian Teachers,
- East German Cultural Council, Bonn,
- Ackermann Community, Munich,
- Cultural Work, Silesia, Würzburg,
- North German Cultural Work (East German academy), Lüneburg,
- Association of Displaced Teachers and Officials from the Soviet Occupation Zone, reg., Düsseldorf,
- Union of Catholic German Women Teachers, Essen,
- Association of Expelled and Refugee Students, Munich,
- Committee of Eastern Churches, Hanover,
- Catholic Work Centre, North, for Expelled Persons, reg. Cologne,
- German Youth of the East, Bonn,
- East German National Archive, Dortmund,
- Library of the German East, Herne/Westphalia,
- Centre for Folk Art of Expelled Persons, Freiburg/Breisgau,
- Göttingen Work Circle, Göttingen.

The work community maintains provincial work communities in the various provinces to which in turn a number of regional work communities are subordinated. The activity of the federal work community is not least supplemented and promoted by the more than 65 eastern research institutes, eastern academies, professorships for eastern questions and societies for eastern research serving revanchism which are subordinated to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of the Interior and the Ministry for "All-German Affairs" and which also foster close relations with schools, universities, the Bundeswehr, youth organizations, publishing houses, radio, film and television. The Federal Work Community issues large quantities of printed material, for example, the periodicals *Deutsche Ostkunde*, *Bausteine ostkundlichen Unterrichts*, year books, eastern bibliographies, etc. "East German weeks", "east German homeland and cultural evenings", pupils' competitions, youth excursions to the border districts, essay competitions, exhibi-

tions, rallies and roll-calls, ceremonies on 17 June and 13 August, meetings of exile groups complete the measures of state guidance for the political distortion of young people at school and outside school.

THE SCHOOL IN THE GRASP OF THE MANIPULATORS

Corruption of youth

Such a degree of manipulation of the thinking of the younger citizens of the Federal Republic cannot fail to have its effect.

"The aim of the 'work community' is, as repeatedly stated in all its publications, 'the penetration of the whole of instruction with eastern studies'. There is actually no school subject in which the connection between East and West German tribes cannot be 'included', is the opinion of the publisher of literature guides for Eastern studies, Dr. Ernst Lehmann. The teachers of Eastern studies are not only concerned with imparting historical knowledge but also with a very concrete political aim—they want to keep alive the claim to the territories which cannot be given up and prepare German youth for a new 'journey in the cause of Europe', as Dr. Lehmann formulated it in the organ of the work community, *Deutsche Ostkunde*.

"The preparation of a new 'journey in the cause of Europe' is to begin already in the lower grades. In mathematics instruction, in gymnastics, handicraft and German. One should tell about the blond Germans who once inhabited the land and of 'Slavic intruders'. Of the elks, horses and lakes, of the fishermen in the bays, of the fact that there was no industry in the east of Germany but forests, no poverty but the 'simple life' and the 'pure village community'. In art instruction old east German peasant huts should be made, folk songs should be sung during the music lesson and folk dances practised during the gymnastics classes. Agnes Miegel must be at the heart of German instruction as is demanded by the guide for teachers 'East and Central Germany in Instruction', which is published in Hamburg with the support of the Senate and the trade unions." (K. Hermann, op. cit.)

Today this "new journey to the East" is ever more strongly motivated by an "all German" view of history and an "all German mission" of West Germany. Thus in the article "The Year of Destiny 1866 and Its Effects", Dr. Lehmann falls back on Professor Wilhelm Schüssler of Vienna, who was already very active in the period of Hitler fascism, and his definition of "all German thought" as "the consciousness, that the Germans, regardless of the state in which they may live, belong to one spiritual realm, the realm of their language, culture and history..."

And Lehmann concludes:

"To clarify this concept and to defend it against limita-

tion solely to the question of reunification with Germanism of the Soviet zone, a contribution can be made by dealing with the year of destiny 1866 in the school. It can also clear up misunderstandings to which the Germans of Austria and also the Sudeten Germans are more than ever exposed today." (*Deutsche Ostkunde*, Troisdorf/Rhld., 1966, No. 1, p. 18)

The following examples show clearly how school youth are ideologically influenced by the school books.

An article entitled "Recruits for the Ride to the East?" in the magazine *deutsches panorama* which is published in Hamburg stated among other things:

"Take, for example, geography—a subsidiary subject, but one which imparts important bits of the world picture to the children. Years before history or current affairs were able to set the correcting tone, geography formed the political view of the pupils.

"For this purpose the 'Seydlitz' has long been published—it is the textbook to which our fathers must be thankful for their basic knowledge of primitive river valleys and brown coal seams, but naturally always in new revised versions. The first part deals with the 'German fatherland', broad and unified in the frontiers of 1937. The zone frontiers are only hesitatingly mentioned in the subordinate clause, only hesitatingly is the state mentioned whose capital and historical origin does not form part of the teaching material.

The "so-called" GDR does not even exist, not a word about its economic system, its political foundation...

"Seydlitz dedicates many pages to the 'unforgettable homeland in the east'. This material is apparently very difficult to present—it is newly formulated in every edition. 'Dismembered Germany' is found in the 1958 edition which is still used in many schools today:

"'The German Reich was dismembered in 1945'—not a word about the past history. 'Great suffering was experienced by the country on the Weichsel, Pregel and Memel because of the Second World War. Almost all the Germans were forced to leave the country'—not a word about other peoples who likewise experienced great suffering during this period.

"'Depopulated country east of the Oder and Neisse' is the title of a chapter which deals with the 'unspeakable suffering' of the evacuation and the destruction and fear at the end of the war. Since there is no mention of hunger and death in the section on West Germany, the sixth formers, for whom the book is intended, must assume that all the suffering of the war was borne exclusively by East Germans and caused by Poles and Russians.

"Even the authors of Seydlitz have recognized that it is too one-sided. In any case they added a few compensating sentences to the 18th edition which was published in 1964: 'In all our suffering and loss we should not forget that the Polish people suffered a lot mainly through the war of 1939 which was forced upon them by Germany.' Still this conciliatory thought is of advantage to but a few.

"Already in the next, most recent edition, all mention of German war guilt of Polish sufferings, or other historical connections have disappeared again. Instead the description of the adventures of a fugitive has been given a whole page." The magazine concludes:

"What we are drilling into the heads of the sixth formers today will come out ten years later in the ballot-box." (*deutsches panorama*, Hamburg, 1967, No. 3)

In the past there have always been critics who expressed grave concern against the view of life which was being imparted to the young citizens of the Federal Republic from childhood on.

On 23 May 1965 Peter Krebs and Wolfgang Schulz wrote about the more than 80 different readers used in the Federal Republic in the *Spandauer Volksblatt*, West Berlin:

"Anyone who has read a few from this pile, ... must come to the conclusion that the view of life offered to our youth in these readers is highly questionable. It is often out of date, it is unfortunately often trashy, and sometimes politically dangerous. This view of life misguides our children."

In the same newspaper a quotation was taken from an analysis of assistant mistress Gertrud Bienkow in Coblenz of the reader *Junge Welt* which is freely distributed in the Catholic elementary schools in Bavaria:

"The new reader is full of lifeless romanticism, not really fairy-tales,—not really a book of real life ... here once again 'Soul' is played off against intellect, the irrational, the belief in miracles against respect for facts or the undiscovered, heroism against planning, momentary against fundamental help. The book is conservative, for the 'Reich', not for the state; it is anti-parliamentary, anti-urban, against technology, for blood and soil, 'Mother'—tradition, for class, feudal, and certainly authoritarian and hierarchical rule. It is not by chance that many writers who were at home in the Third Reich are presented in it ...

"This blood and soil literature has a fatal educational tendency. The greatness of the heroes depicted here ... show how ... patiently and fairly they bear the sufferings which have been placed upon them by destiny. As a general rule destiny plays a great role. Politics does not exist ... the people in our school books do not elect, they read no newspapers, they do not listen to the radio and naturally do not occupy themselves with politics. And that is why war appears to the poor innocent people like a Biblical plague ..." (*Spandauer Volksblatt*, West Berlin, 23 May 1965)

Depicting the Foe as the Devil

The representation of the war in West German school books is a chapter itself. Quite apparent is the overall tendency of rehabilitating the German general staff,

of depicting the defeat of German militarism as the caprice of fate, and justifying its crimes as "necessary counter pressure". Thus the story of the First World War begins with the moving description of Wilhelm II's boundless love of peace:

"He and the German government wanted to avoid a big war at all events... In those critical days (July 1914) no other government exerted such great pressure on an ally (Austria-Hungary) as the German... But this step came too late—the troops were already on the march to the frontier." (*Die neueste Zeit*, Frankfurt-on-Main/West Berlin/Bonn 1964, 6th edition, p. 37 ff.)

"Especially the English and the German governments endeavoured to save the peace. But their efforts failed, as the Tsar definitively ordered the mobilization on 30 July. The whole world—even the Russian leaders—know that the German Reich must answer that with a declaration of war: This followed on the next day." ("Um Volksstaat und Völkergemeinschaft", Stuttgart, p. 98, taken from "Bildungsnotstand in der Bundesrepublik", *Ausweg*, Cologne-Ehrenfeld, 1965, No. 6, p. 18)

Another tendency becomes clear from this last quotation: Depicting "the Russian" as the new "arch enemy". In the Federal Republic anti-communist clichés are consistently spread for opportunistic reasons, even to manipulate historical facts of the distant past.

"At the end of August 1914 the situation on the eastern front seemed very threatening for the Central Powers. Then Hindenburg and Ludendorff were put at the head of the weak German eastern army. At the end of August they accomplished a masterpiece of the strategy of destruction at Tannenberg. With far inferior forces they surrounded a Russian army and completely wiped it out; thereupon a second one retreated from East Prussia. In this battle the Russians lost 200,000 dead and captured, but with their million-strong army they were hardly troubled by this loss." ("Um Volksstaat und Völkerfreundschaft", op. cit., p. 103)

Thus the German "military strategy" is placed against "the numberless Asiatic hordes". The assessment of Tannenberg must be taken in order to wipe out the defeat of Stalingrad in 1942.

What remains is the legend. There is a direct connection between the biased historical accounts in the school books and the theoretical organs of the Bonn war ministry:

"The art of war is the most difficult of all arts. That is why there are only a few great military leaders and very few great teachers of the art of war. A fire must burn in the military leader, a fire which is given by God to but a few chosen men... a well conducted war is like a greet symphony." (F. von Boetticher, "Strategy and the General Staff: Principles and Spirit", *Wehrkunde*, Munich, 1964, No. 9)

Wherever the events of the First World War must contribute to anti-communist associations, nazi barbarism can expect a more than favourable presentation.

International protests at the beginning of the nineteen-sixties was the cause of the withdrawal of several West German school books, because they crudely justified Hitler, the nazi regime and the war crimes of German imperialism. On 29 July the *Spandauer Volksblatt* stated that an especially controversial book was still in use.

In the "Geschichte der neuesten Zeit" (Klett-Verlag, Stuttgart 1956) Karl Marx and Ferdinand Lassalle are characterized as Jews in a scarcely-concealed anti-semitic intention. On the party program of the NSDAP it states that it could not be "characterized as criminal in the Nuremberg trial". Further, it states that "in 1935" Winston Churchill spoke of "Hitler in words of admiration for the courage, determination and vitality with which he was endowed." Hitler's defeat in the Second World War was only regretted as a series of "catastrophic set-backs". Finally this view of history blames the Jews for the anti-semitic excesses of the nazis:

"In November 1938, an especially disgraceful event took place. A Jewish immigrant in Paris shot a German diplomat who was anything but a Jew hater..."

"On Goebbels' order members of the party organizations set fire to synagogues. They also maltreated many Jews and damaged Jewish businesses and homes more or less seriously." ("Geschichte der neuesten Zeit", Stuttgart, 1956, p. 149)

In the textbook "Unser Weg durch die Geschichte vom Wiener Kongress bis zur Gegenwart" published in Frankfurt-on-Main in 1963, four whole pages have been given to the suffering of the Jews during the Second World War. On the other hand the pupils are asked on p. 128 of the same book to describe "crimes against humanity" which were committed by members of other peoples during the war and in the post-war period.

Anti-communist instigation and slander are given a special place in West German textbooks:

"Behind the front partisan groups were formed on orders from Stalin. These later became famous for having killed over 300,000 German soldiers and officers. German counter-measures were also against the foundations of international law. ("Geschichte der neuesten Zeit", op. cit., p. 169)

"The Russian advance moved on through East Prussia and Silesia to the Oder line near Frankfurt-Küstrin. A terrible period of suffering began for the German inhabitants of these areas..."

"The suffering of the fugitives from East Germany was extraordinarily great... The Germans in East Prussia, West Prussia, Silesia, East Pomerania, and East Brandenburg not only wanted to get away from the front and the fighting, but also to get away from an opponent who had no consideration for women, children and old people... thousands died from the cold, hunger, thirst and from the abnormal exertion. Others bled to death under the fire of Russian aircraft. Many willingly went to their deaths. Fleeing groups were often overtaken by

Russian tanks, dispersed, plundered ... Thousands of fugitives who attempted to escape by ship died in the waves: the ships collided with mines or were sunk by Russian bomber planes.

"No less terrible was it for the Germans who remained in the East. They had to suffer much at the hands of the Russian troops which were instigated by newspapers, leaflets and radio." (*Spiegel der Zeiten*, Frankfurt-on-Main/West Berlin/Bonn 1963, Vol. 5, 6th edition, p. 124 ff.)

The results of such "a view of history" in the child's thinking is seen in an inquiry published several years ago by the West German magazine *Revue*. Of the children questioned by an English scientist (H. D. Schmidt)

71 per cent hated the Russians

46 per cent hated the French

39 per cent hated the Jews

29 per cent hated the English.

(Cf. *Elternhaus und Schule*, Berlin, 1961, No. 10, p. 23)

In 1965 the *Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie* published an analyses by Heinz Wolf on the "attitude of German pupils to the East European peoples". The findings are based on questions put to 13 to 15-year-old and 17 to 18-year-old pupils of elementary and secondary schools. According to their conceptions there are the following attributes of national character:

"The Russians are brutal and cruel, the Poles dirty and lazy, the Czechs treacherous and brutal, the Yugoslavs, Roumanians and Bulgarians mainly cowardly, lazy and hungry."

About these results of systematic race hatred, the magazine *Stimme der Gemeinde* concludes:

"1964 does not seem much different to 1944." It is the result of "the irrational hatred" of a "dull-witted anti-communism". (*Stimme der Gemeinde*, Frankfurt-on-Main, 15 September 1964)

In 1966 the College of Education of Reutlingen carried out an inquiry among pupils of the elementary school from the 3rd to the 8th year to discover what their view of the Soviet Union was. Here are a few of the key sentences:

"The Russians are bad." "The Russians have long beards." "The Russians are poor people ... living in wooden huts, sleeping sometimes on the ground and they have walled up the people's windows in Berlin."

A psychologist commented as follows on these childish ideas:

"The pupils of West German elementary schools carry a false and distorted picture of the people in the USSR up to the end of their school life ..." (H. Eichelgrün, "The Formed Information—The Federal Press Office", *Marxistische Blätter*, Frankfurt-on-Main, 1966, No. 5)

The Muses Not Spared

The Bonn state doctrine of anti-communism does not even spare the art education of the pupils. Thus 12,000 West Berlin pupils took part in an art competition on the subject "We belong together", which was encouraged by the "Committee for an Indivisible Germany". Of 400 individual and collective contributions 27 were selected and awarded prizes.

"An embarrassing impression was caused by the 'Asian-Mongolian' rogue visages of the many robbers of the series of pictures awarded a special prize on an East Prussian robber story. They had invented Russian names which must have been suggested to the young artists by some one." (*Der Tagesspiegel*, West Berlin, 20 January 1966)

Art education is influenced by such people as, for example, the former Hitler Youth (HJ) head musician Wolfgang Stumme. He is allowed to train music teachers for West German schools at the Folkwang College in Essen. Stumme performed his service in 1938 when he selected the official list of songs of the Reich youth leadership—"Unser Liederbuch"—out of a list of so-called key songs compiled by the Reich youth leadership and the Reich Ministry of Culture.

It is not astonishing, therefore, when music teachers Helmut Segler and Lars Ulrich Abraham come up against the old evil nazi spirit in evaluating a few of the some 300 West German school music books which are licensed by the ministries of culture of the federal provinces:

"Like the 'songs' of the Hitler Youth the song-books of today also represent that sentimental mixture 'of Beethoven and Hans Baumann' which was once the successful recipe of the nazi singsong: Festive and 'key' songs of one day—'Nothing can take love and belief from us', 'Morning sun smiles over my country', 'And the early morning, that is our time', 'Good night, comrades'—were taken over unchanged and mixed between 'I adore the power of love' and 'From heaven up above'.

"Instead of 'supporting history instruction of the upper grades' a completely false picture of their surroundings is implanted into the young generation in music instruction—as the two teachers criticize—which makes it unable to understand and master it.

"In the analysis of the song-book 'Singing School' the two educationists found it 'inconceivable ... that, for example, Bach does not appear with a single composition', and that of the known contemporary authors 'more than a half' were 'active for the Hitler Youth, often with the same melodies'.

"On page 106 they discovered the characteristic stanza 'When folks are cross we push them into the stove and build a fire'. Song 51, stanza 4 (text and music by nazi poet Hans Baumann) concludes: 'There is hunger in our eyes, we want to win new lands for us!'" (*Der Spiegel*, Hamburg, 23 January 1967)

Teachers in the NPD

Thus state manipulation in the sphere of the West German school represents itself as a mixture of anti-communism, racism, national megalomania, revanchism and blood and soil romanticism. Neo-nazis prosper especially luxuriantly in this spiritual climate. The number of worried voices which point to the growing influence of the neo-fascist NPD (National Democratic Party) is growing, especially in the sphere of the school system. In the Goethe Gymnasium in Karlsruhe the school authorities carried out a propaganda meeting of the NPD in the rooms of the school—against the protest of parents—before pupils and teachers.

Supervisory school authorities do not object when a growing number of teachers make their appearance as NPD electoral speakers. In Dillingen/Saarland the school authority tolerated the use of the swastika in history instruction as a "national symbol".

The periodical *Pardon* directs attention to a few—certainly incomplete—personal aspects of the ever closer entanglement of school authorities and neo-nazism. It names a few teachers and their functions:

Berndt, Volker, vocational school master, Wertheim, chairman of the NPD founding committee

Boehland, Rudolf, senior master, Nuremberg, NPD town councillor

Bohn, Dr. Gerhard, assistant master, Kitzingen, NPD local chairman, senior master at the gymnasium

Blatt, Peter, assistant master at the state philological gymnasium in Simmern, Rhineland-Palatinate, founding member of the NPD regional union in Kusel

Brammer, Helmut, senior teacher, Borstel, regional business manager of the NPD, Hamburg rural region, member of the NPD provincial executive

Dehnen, Dr. Dietrich, senior master, Oberhausen, deputy NPD provincial chairman, associate of the right-wing radical "Deutsches Kulturwerk"

Kluge, Dr. Horst, assistant master, Winheim/Bergstrasse, NPD district commissioner for Mannheim

Köhler, Max, senior teacher, Bayreuth, NPD town council candidate

Leyendecker, Gustav, master teacher, Wuppertal, press commissioner of the Wuppertal regional NPD union

Löffler, Klemens, senior master at the Ohm Gymnasium, Erlangen, NPD town council candidate

Ludwig, Kurt, headmaster, Evangelical Hans Hermann School, Regensburg, NPD top candidate for the town council

Pohlhausen, Dr. Henn, senior master, Hamburg, chairman of the NPD Hamburg rural regional union

Schitz, Otto, intermediate school teacher, Nordheim, NPD communal councillor

Thaden, Dr. Herbert, graduate commercial teacher, Merkur commercial school in Heilbronn, chairman of

the NPD Heilbronn regional union, NPD Bundestag candidate

Walter, Hans, master teacher at the Catholic elementary school in Tettingen, deputy NPD chairman in Saarland and NPD Bundestag candidate (O. Köhler, "Learning for a Fascist Life", *Pardon*, Frankfurt-on-Main, 1966, No. 6, p. 24 ff.)

One of the named NPD top officials, Dr. Dietrich Dehnen, manifested his fascist attitude especially clearly when he attacked the DGB (trade union) local chairman at a session of the Duisburg electoral district committee and said:

"There I see the enemy as a democrat. One should study his physiognomy thoroughly." (O. Köhler, "Learning for a Fascist Life", *Ibid.*, p. 27)

THE FASCIST WAVE AND ITS INTELLECTUAL SCUM

Penetration into the Universities

The organ of the neo-nazi NPD wrote with clearly noticeable triumph in the middle of 1966:

"As was finally frankly admitted that change which had been ascertainable for a few months already in the entire political sphere is now also taking place in the West German universities. The rector of Giessen University declared that some 20 per cent of the some 5,000 students of Giessen University are adherents of the NPD. At other West German universities this share is up to 15 per cent. Students lean towards the political conceptions of the NPD more than other sections of the population.

"This information seems to us the most important home policy news of the last months...

"What had come to a deadlock and appeared to stagnate up to now is getting into motion. A national orientation of a now considerable percentage of the students is in our opinion, too, not at all the expression of a so-called uneasiness but rather the pressure for the necessary and overdue change." (*Deutsche Nachrichten*, Hanover, 22 July 1966)

In recent months NPD student associations have sprung up like mushrooms at West German universities. Their mentor is the chief ideologist of the NPD, Professor Ernst Anrich whom Hitler appointed professor of modern history of the Strasbourg Reich University. The neo-nazi student organizations are founded "because the value of the national must be represented more strongly among the students, too", so that "the national democratic idea" receives "an academic level". At least this was declared by Tübingen students Hans Schmidt and Rüdiger Braun in explanation of this development. (*Der Spiegel*, Hamburg, 23 January 1967)

When on 20 November 1966 the National Democratic College Union (NHB) was founded at Heidelberg University the NPD organ declared:

"It has set itself the aim of serving the formation of a political consciousness of the students in the spirit of the declared objectives of the NPD." (*Deutsche Nachrichten*, Hanover, 16 December 1966)

At the end of December 1966 the *Frankfurter Rundschau* wrote on the occasion of a preparatory NHB meeting in Freiburg:

"In January a founding wave is to spill over the Federal Republic, and in a few months an application for subsidies from the federal youth plan will probably be submitted to the Federal Ministry of the Interior." (*Frankfurter Rundschau*, 20 December 1966)

In mid-February 1967 the following became already obvious: NHB groups already exist in eight West German institutions of higher learning, for example, in Bonn, Heidelberg, Mainz, Tübingen and Freiburg. Three other groups are in the founding process. At the same time a National Democratic College Union (NHB) has already been constituted in Tübingen. Its chairman is the already named Tübingen chemistry student Rüdiger Braun. The special aim and task of this neo-nazi central organization is to speed up and bring about the founding of NHB groups at all universities.

The founding of the "National Democratic College Union" is only the expression of a continuous development which has been observed for years. Youth organizations marching along the line of fascist tradition have not only been tolerated but bred and encouraged in West Germany already shortly after 1945. *Der Spiegel* gives an incomplete enumeration of such neo-fascist organizations:

Circle of Friends of the National Youth

(use of old Germanic symbolic mysticism, drums and fanfares)

"Wikinger"/Eagle Youth Union

("consciously militant" and rejection of any "hotch-potch of races", HJ-like uniform)

League of Youth True to the Homeland (BHJ)

(greeting: Hail You, against "estrangement of Germanism")

Wiking Youth

(patriotic, soldierly, persevering)

Union of the Fatherland Youth (BVJ)

(was formally banned in 1962 but continues to exist now as before)

(*Der Spiegel*, Hamburg, No. 46, 1966, p. 56)

At a demonstration of this "illegal" BVJ in Hanover Hagen Mörig, once legal "troop leader", said:

"We have not given up our way... The very first stanza of the German anthem proclaims our national existence... The longing of the people is the Reich. We have a right to the homeland from the Maas to the Memel, from the Etsch to the Belt." (*Ibid.*)

Despite the "ban" in 1962 the BVJ in 1966 published in a "documentation" all those essays, poems, fiery speeches and songs which served as evidence for the

ban. Among them are the "Admonishing Words" of the BVJ (author Mathilde Ludendorff) and the "Four Basic Truths" which call upon people to take part in the creation of the "happiest formation of our nation, the Reich". On page 49 of the documentation it can finally be read who has always stood in the way of this "formation":

"Jew is Jew, he can be taught, he follows his blood, follows his doctrines. But a fellow, a German who thinks like a Jew should be hanged." (*Ibid.*)

The National Democratic College Union wants to see that the pre-formed cadres in other neo-nazi youth organizations are gathered in the sphere of the universities. A leading role in this integration process on the federal level is played by the *Deutscher Studenten-Anzeiger* which was established in 1961 and was published in 36,000 copies already in 1963. The paper has set itself the goal of becoming the organ of the students' "national opposition". It propagates as a model, for example, the right-wing radical circles in the American student youth which were celebrated as "Goldwater's young guard" in 1964 and advocates the apartheid policy in the Republic of South Africa.

An especially characteristic example of a neo-fascist way of thinking was offered by the *Deutscher Studenten-Anzeiger* with the publication of an attack on progressive intellectuals by Kurt Ziesel who clearly lets his teacher be perceived in his thought and formulation:

"Since the adorers of the intellect are incapable of love because it is not conceivable intellectually they have no relation to love of the fatherland and the homeland. The conception of making sacrifices for one's fatherland, defending it, wanting to see it respected and feeling pain about its defeats and mutilations seems to them absurd and ridiculous." (K. Ziesel, "Der deutsche Selbstmord-Diktatur der Meinungsmacher", Velbert-on-Rhine, 1963, quoted from H. Brüdigam, "Der Schoss ist fruchtbar noch...", Frankfurt-on-Main, undated, p. 67)

It is worth comparing the following quotation with the previous one:

"We, the German youth, we want to put a stop to pessimism. Believing, full of defiant optimism, we want to challenge the hard destiny. We, the boys from the school desks, from the lecture-rooms, from the offices and the factory halls, we young workers and students, we want to be the bearers of this believing optimism... This young generation has a right to demand. It raises its demands before the entire world... the demands for the shaping of national life in the area of the German nation.

"In duty, manliness, discipline, adaptation and subordination this young generation acknowledges the people and the nation. It welcomes the old Reich, stands firmly in the tradition of the past and marches courageously and unswervingly into the German future." (Goebbels on 1 May 1933, in "Goebbels spricht, Reden aus Kampf und Sieg", Oldenburg, 1933, p. 102 ff.)

Professors and Writers

The following arrived authors publish in the *Deutscher Studenten-Anzeiger*, among others:

Professor Freiherr Friedrich August von der Heydte, Bundeswehr brigadier of the reserve, co-founder of the "Save Freedom" league, expert on international law at Würzburg University, incorrigible fascist;

Professor Herbert Cysarz, "folk" Germanic philologist;

Dr. Peter Kleist, former SS Obersturmbannführer and associate of the "Reich Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Regions".

But other neo-nazi printed material such as the *Deutsche National-Zeitung und Soldaten-Zeitung* or the *Deutsche Nachrichten* also enjoy the cooperation of reactionary academicians:

Professor Hermann Pongs prolepticizes in the "folk" jargon against "left-wing intellectual" writers (for example, Günter Grass). His concoction "Im Umbruch der Zeit—das Romanschaffen der Gegenwart", Göttinger Verlagsanstalt, 1954, is a nationalist polemic against the modern novel; it was published in 1963 as the 4th edition under the title "Romanschaffen im Umbruch der Zeit—eine Chronik von 1952 bis 1962" by the publishing house of the *Deutsche Hochschullehrer-Zeitung*.

Professor Hans-Bernhard von Grünberg published in the *Deutsche Nachrichten* in 1964 the title "Vom neuen Reich" (On the New Reich) in a series of papers of the Reichsruf Verlag in Hanover.

Ernst Frank, manager of the Heimreiter Verlag in Frankfurt-on-Main, played an authoritative role in the Sudeten German nazi movement, he was editor-in-chief of the *Karlsbader Tageszeitung* and regional main office head of the NSDAP, he is the brother of the nazi Reich protector Karl Hermann Frank who was executed as a war criminal; his publishing house is especially close to the Witiko-Bund (Henlein fascists).

Fritz Stübner, "Mit Blut geschrieben" (Written With Blood), German poems from three decades; Stübner is an honorary member of the "Deutsches Kulturwerk".

Heinrich Härtle is a regular associate of the newspaper *Deutsche Nachrichten*; he was Alfred Rosenberg's secretary and published fascist and anti-Semitic papers in the nazi period; in 1944 his book "Die ideologischen Grundlagen des Bolschewismus, Marxismus, Leninismus, Stalinismus" was published by the Mythos Verlag with a preface by Alfred Rosenberg; in 1955 this book was published without Rosenberg's preface (under Härtle's pseudonym "Helmut Steinberg") by the Holsten Verlag in Hamburg under the title "Marxismus—Leninismus—Stalinismus—der geistige Angriff aus dem Osten"; Härtle also edited Alfred Rosenberg's book "Ideale und Idole der national-sozialistischen Revolution, letzte Aufzeichnungen", which was published by the Plesse Verlag in 1955.

Erich Kern also publishes in the *Deutsche Nachrichten*; for example, he wrote an enthusiastic article on the

Ehrhardt Reichswehr brigade; in 1966 the publishing house brought out the 4th edition of Kern's book "Verbrechen am Volk—Eine Dokumentation alliierter Grausamkeiten" (Crimes against the People—A Documentation of Allied Cruelties). The newspaper *Deutsche Nachrichten* repeatedly offered this book with the following assessment: Kern "furnishes the evidence that the allies committed more war crimes in the Second World War and after it than Germany can be charged with...". The name Erich Kern conceals the nazi writer and SS Hauptsturmführer Erich Kernmayr. Kern has appeared with a large number of books:

"The Last Battle", 1960,

"The Great Intoxication", Plesse-Verlag (defence of the armed SS)

"General Pannwitz and His Cossacks", Plesse-Verlag

"The Big Slaughter"—paper of the *Reichsruf*

"Sacrifice of a People—the Total War"

"Treachery to Germany—Spies and Saboteurs against their Own Fatherland",

Schütz-Verlag (owner: SS Sturmbannführer Schütz)

The following striking example may be mentioned here for the large number of scientists who already propagated the ideas of the nazis and are today active in all spheres of the intellectual life of the Federal Republic.

The specialist in administrative law Dr. Josef Koelble, called Himmler's police a trusting "friend and assistant" in his thesis in 1936; in a lecture before national socialist officials he used the following motto:

"Every right is only the means to the end of securing for a nation the heroic force for the contest on this earth." (*Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger*, 31 January 1967)

In the same newspaper the—also personal—relation between the nazi Reich and the Federal Republic is impressively described by means of the example of Dr. Josef Koelble:

"Today this former leading instructor of the NSDAP who, according to his own statements, was uninterruptedly active since 1932 as a 'propagandist of national socialist ideas' shares competence for the plans for an emergency legislation as ministerial director in the Federal Ministry of the Interior. The assistant referee of his strictly fascist doctoral dissertation in 1936 was Professor Reinhard Höhn, today head of the academy for leading forces of the economy in Bad Harzburg. But the 'doctor father' No. 1 of the emergency expert was Privy Counsellor Professor Carl Schmitt, former president of the national socialist Academy of German Law. This crown jurist of the Hitler Reich is today 'protective patron of the new federal cabinet' and is considered 'secret political adviser' of Federal Chancellor Kiesinger with whom Schmitt and his circle have met secretly for years in Plettenberg in Sauerland from time to time." (*Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger*, 31 January 1967)

All these facts prove that the fascist ideologists can be met not only in elementary schools, colleges and universities—their connections reach into the top of the

Bonn system. That with Federal Chancellor Kurt Georg Kiesinger an experienced old nazi was put at the top of the government is only the logical consequence of federal German conditions which developed in the course of the last twenty years.

THE EVERYDAY MASS MEDIA

On the side of the gigantic apparatus of the direct state manipulation in West Germany there are the instruments of opinion-making which direct their appeals to federal citizens every day and every hour. Press, publishing system, the film, television and radio support the state manipulation centres in the struggle for the total rule over the hearts and minds of West German citizens.

The possibilities of exerting influence by means of guided mass media can be proved by the following figures:

Every day some 21 million copies of more than 500 daily newspapers come on the market in West Germany.

Two hundred fifty periodicals and weeklies are published in a total edition of more than 52 million copies per edition; some 18 million radio and 10.5 million television receivers are officially registered.

Per household there are one daily newspaper, one radio receiver, two illustrated papers or periodicals, and one television set for almost every two households.

This spreading density shows that the federal citizens are constantly influenced mentally by at least two, and as a rule by more publications. (Figures according to Stamm, *Guides for Press and Publicity*, Essen, 1965, p. 27)

But data on the spreading density and spectrum of the mass media have no unambiguous evidentiary value. Essential is the fact that the most important instruments of opinion-making are in the hands of the monopolies which continue to speed up the concentration process in the sphere of mass media. This leads objectively to the systematic coordination and subordination of the entire intellectual and cultural life to the interests and policy of monopoly capital.

West German publicist Harry Pross comes to the conclusion:

"Theoretically the press is free ... In practice the media are dependent on money, on power ... The mass media are ... firmly in the hands of those who rule, who manage them directly or indirectly ...

"But not only the politicians rule. The rich do so by disposing of the labour power of the masses. They also try to form an opinion which is favourable to their interests ... They also make use of the media to convince people that party interests are also those of the masses ...

"Within the ruling class the proprietors have the advantage over the politicians for the latter only have the mandate of the masses who depend economically on the proprietors. Private property in the mass media pro-

vides an additional abundance of power, for it means not only the power of disposal over things and people but over the apparatuses which are indispensable for the information of the masses." (H. Pross, *"Die Chance der Massenmedien"*, Die Neue Gesellschaft, Bielefeld, 1966, November-December, pp. 435 ff.)

The aim of suggesting the "party interests" of the imperialists to the masses as their own interests has two aspects: to speed up the internal "formation" of the masses for the safeguarding of monopoly profit,

to create the correct "picture of the enemy" for the external expansion.

On the first task *Industriekurier* stated:

"In this time the press ... must assist industry by ... contributing to ensuring understanding for the concerns of the economy in all sections of the people." (*Industriekurier*, Düsseldorf, 2 February 1967)

The second task was characterized by West Berlin author Gerhard Schoenberger who sees through the mechanism of manipulation:

"The need to project to the outside, needs, fears, frustrations and unsolved conflicts, the causes of which are not recognized, and to find a scapegoat ... is being systematically guided here ... Wherever someone makes a speech with the content that communism is bad and the West is threatened we are informed about it in detail." ("Information oder herrschen die Souffleure?", Hamburg, 1965, p. 62 ff.)

THE POWER OF AXEL CÄSAR SPRINGER

Springer today owns and controls a monopoly of opinion-forming as has never before existed to such an extent in German history. The annual turnover of his publishing house amounts to some 800 million marks. Springer's private income is estimated at about 60 million marks. The following publications appear in Springer's empire: *Bild Zeitung*, *Hamburger Abendblatt*, *Hör zu*, *Bild am Sonntag*, *Die Welt*, *Welt am Sonntag*, *Das neue Blatt*, *BZ*, *Berliner Morgenpost*, *Mittag*, *Kristall* and *Bravo*. The total edition is more than 14 million copies.

Of 4.68 million copies of supra-regional daily papers Springer prints 4.17 million, that is 89.1 per cent.

Springer owns 83.6 per cent of the circulation of all Sunday papers.

In Hamburg he owns 69 per cent, in West Berlin 67 per cent of the circulation of all papers. His share in program periodicals for radio and television amounts to 50.1 per cent.

Bild-Zeitung alone has reached a circulation of 4.3 million copies. Seventy thousand kiosks, sales automats and individual sellers guarantee their quick distribution right into the last village. Every edition of *Bild-Zeitung* is read by about three persons. Therefore this paper forms the political conception of some 12 million West German citizens in whole or in part. For not a few *Bild-Zeitung* is the sole source of information in the field of the press.

The Springer trust dominates the West German press market: The graph shows Springer's share in the supra-regional daily newspapers (above), the Sunday newspapers (centre) and of the program magazines (below).

In the big cities the paper is read in almost 75 per cent of all households. The main groups of "Bild" consumers are comprised as follows: 46 per cent workers, 22 per cent office employees, 17 per cent employers and shopowners, 8 per cent officials.

The examples of the unscrupulous manner this paper manipulates its mass public are legion. Any given period of a year might be chosen to prove that *Bild-Zeitung* does not inform its readers but that it primarily misinforms them in an anti-communist manner.

A small selection of headlines from June 1966 designed to influence public feelings may serve as proof:

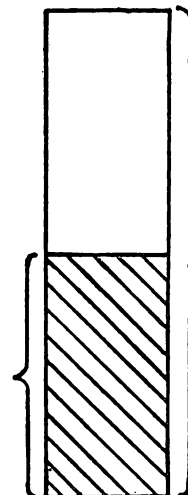
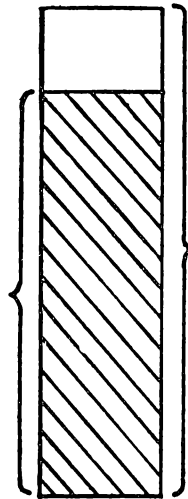
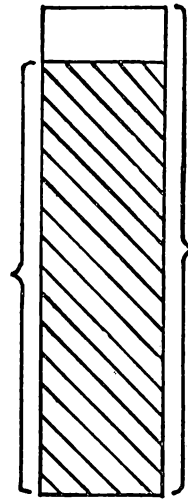
1. 6. p. 4 "Memorial of the Nation in Berlin!"
3. 6. p. 1 "Renunciation Would Make Moscow still Hungrier!"
10. 6. p. 1 "Victory of Reason? DGB Commission Examines Emergency Laws"
11. 6. p. 2 "White Circle: No Reason for Panic!"
15. 6. p. 1 "We Are Not America's Scrap Heap"
27. 6. p. 1 "Bonn's Foreign Policy Must be Adapted to the New Situation"
30. 6. p. 1 "Bombs on Hanoi"

It is interesting to see in what surroundings these clearly written primitive political headlines appear. The authors of *Bild-Zeitung* are speculating on an additional "emotional consideration" of the reported facts when they frame these headlines (alone in the first half of June 1966) as follows:

Murders, house-breaking, criminal cases	76
catastrophes, accidents	57
gossip stories from show business	35

Political reports are indirectly evaluated with the dressing. No information, however, was given to *Bild-Zeitung* readers on the following facts from the same period:

- Proclamation of the program of the Finnish government
- Conclusion of the 13th congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia
- Erhard's attack on West German intellectuals
- Proposal by the Danish government to convene an East-West conference
- Protests in Japan against the stationing of a US atomic submarine
- Support by the UAR for the GDR's application for membership in the UN
- Rejection of the Bonn peace note by the Hungarian People's Republic
- Elections in Santo Domingo
- Work stoppages in the Ruhr area
- Protest of American intellectuals against Vietnam war
- Announcement of Nasser-Gandhi-Tito meeting in autumn
- Demonstration in Hué against the Ky regime
- DGB declaration on solidarity with Ruhr miners
- Demand by the Iraqi premier for Bonn's renunciation of atomic arms
- Sweden advocates atomic-weapon-free zone



- Kosygin's proposals for security in Europe
- Further demonstrations in Hué
- Session of the World Peace Council in Geneva
- Mitterand's objections to NATO
- Armed combats in Saigon
- Proposal by metalworkers' trade union Chairman Otto Brenner for a law to safeguard peace

These facts clearly unmask *Bild-Zeitung* as an instrument of the political manipulation of its readers.

How systematically this is being done is shown by the following headlines by which Springer at the end of October and the beginning of November 1966 pushed the formation of the Big Coalition and attempted to suggest it to the masses as being the expression of their will.

8 October 1966

Bild-Zeitung demands: "Strauss must enter the federal government. The crisis in Bonn demands a strong man."

29 October 1966

Commentary on page 1: "We do not want a repetition of the situation in the Weimar Republic. We do not want to drift into a crisis with a weak and provisional government. Therefore: Throw in the towel for Erhard soon."

31 October 1966

Bild-Zeitung quotes "The clairvoyant from Bonn", Margaretha Buchela: "Strauss is going to be federal chancellor!"

7 November 1966

"The SED radically rehearses the emergency. Reservists were conscripted right off the job, cars were confiscated in the streets." (This report is a pure invention of *Bild-Zeitung*. Neither on 7 November 1966 nor on any other date were there such events in the GDR.)

11 November 1966

Under the headline "The Best Election" it was said about Kiesinger: "The CDU has made a good choice. Under existing conditions it was the best choice. Kiesinger is an experienced politician. Kiesinger is a brilliant expert on foreign policy... Kiesinger has nothing to reproach himself with but a youthful error... Nevertheless, there will be some stink abroad. We should pass on to the agenda!... We cannot and do not want to throw ourselves into the dust unto eternity."

18 November 1966

Bild-Zeitung quotes Strauss:

"Only a people with a healthy national consciousness can hold their own. The propaganda of a German collective guilt must finally end. We do not want to be the whipping-boy of others! One should finally stop flinging mud at the Federal Republic."

21 November 1966

Bild-Zeitung writes that it "is not a national disaster that the NPD is now also represented in the Bavarian provincial diet."

22 November 1966

Bild-Zeitung demands: "Put the crisis in the cupboard!"... "For this we need CDU/CSU and SPD..."

We need emergency legislation to be protected from the enemies from abroad and at home..."

"We must represent our national interests more clearly and effectively than hitherto. This is not to be achieved by demands alone but also by skilful renunciations. And this is also only possible with the approval and authority of the two big parties."

23 November 1966

Bild-Zeitung opposes a "mini-coalition" SPD/FDP: "This cannot be true!" This would be a "falsification of the voters' will" and a "deception of the people".

26 November 1966

Bild-Zeitung demands a Big Coalition as a "Christmas present for Germany".

28 November 1966

"Now things are going ahead!" was how the big coalition was welcomed. "But only by sacrifices and work!" it added.

10 December 1966

Bild-Zeitung reports in five columns on Kiesinger: "I shall reign with an iron fist."

Bild-Zeitung—Axel Springer's favourite product—is the most dangerous source of the neo-nazi pollution of the population both with regard to its unscrupulousness and also its suggestive effect on the masses.

"When *Bild* says: 'One can only impress the Russians with force', then the policy of Dulles and Adenauer, who operate with the same cliché conceptions of the Russians, is justified as the 'voice of the people'. That it actually is only Axel Springer's voice is hardly noticeable with a circulation of almost four million copies. When *Die Welt*, which also mirrors Herr Springer's opinion, praises the Hallstein doctrine and rejects the Rapacki plan, then this is the opinion of 'independent circles' in Germany. That it is the opinion of one man who is telling his employees what to write and what not to write, is hardly noticeable. And when the whole Springer press talks of the 'disgraceful wall' and of the 'murderers in Pankow', then this becomes the obligatory language regulation, just as GDR in quotation marks has long been obligatory. Of course, one does not talk to the builders of the disgraceful wall and the murderers in Pankow and the rulers in the so-called GDR, not even about passes. When these theses have been repeated often enough they become the 'will of the people.'" (G. von Uexküll, "Can we survive?" in "Modelle für eine neue Welt—Deutschland ohne Konzeption?" Munich/Vienna/Basel, 1964, p. 412)

Springer's power and influence is already recognized today as dangerous in western foreign countries:

"Axel Springer is selling the cold war, well wrapped up in all possible departments, and if he alone was responsible, then he might already have sold the hot war. To describe this man as dangerous would be an understatement, he is the most dangerous man in the Federal Republic and his danger does not lie in the millions which he earns with his penny literature but in the system by which he has made himself the grey

eminence of Federal German policy, by which he can kindle national emotions and, once they are kindled, sells them as the holy wrath of the people, with which he demands and propagates a crass, unrealistic and irresponsible policy and which reaches weekly or daily 40 per cent of the readers in the Federal Republic and 70 per cent of the Berlin newspaper readers." (R. Brotmann, "The Dangerous Mr. Springer", *Zürcher Woche*, 19 August 1966)

Springer himself confesses frankly to the business of manipulating his readers:

"Since the end of the war it was obvious to me that the German reader in no case wanted one thing, that is, to think. And I adapted my papers to it." (*Sonntagsblatt*, Hamburg, 5 July 1955)

Not without anxiety journalist Ernst Müller-Meiningen voiced what the concentration of economic and political power in Springer's hands means:

"Papers and periodicals, concentrated in a trust under the united will of a single person or a few people, that is tantamount to great power: power over the readers who in addition are also voters. Power over the political parties which can be promoted, combated or hushed up. Power over the other publishers who can be threatened with ruin, power over the journalists who in their intellectual freedom of movement can be just as impaired by an advancing process of "uniformation" as by the loss of the variety of the opinion and conviction offer as those whose means they are to be." (*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, Munich, 22 July 1965)

COORDINATION BY BLACKMAIL

Witch-hunt against Professor Jaspers

The "Work Community of German Radio Institutions" (ARD) is not backward with its contributions to radio and television when it is a question of spreading the ideology of the rulers in Bonn. If, however, some criticism is voiced on some especially narrow-minded conceptions of the Federal German state doctrine, then that is an expression of realistic political conceptions which up to now it was not possible to liquidate in the process of the coordination of the mass media.

A particularly striking example of these coordination tendencies is represented by the "Panorama" series in the program of the North German Radio.

On 2 January 1967 this series—its fourth director had just been forced to leave at the turn of the year—transmitted an interview with the German philosopher Karl Jaspers who lives in Switzerland. Questioned about the Big Coalition Jaspers said that the fact that an old nazi headed the new government was an affront to all who hate fascism;

that the oligarchy of the parties dominating the Big Coalition would subjugate the people to chance and arbitrariness;

that the success of the NPD was primarily due to the untrustworthiness of the big parties;

that real danger existed that the big parties would make nationalism their doctrine.

Unquestionably Jaspers' assessment still lags behind Bonn reality. However, the critical-realistic aspects contained in his statements sufficed to call Bonn's most zealous supporters onto the stage and to open concentrated fire not only against the aged philosopher but primarily against the Panorama editorial staff.

On the same day of the Panorama transmission Hans Soltau accused Karl Jaspers on the North German Radio "of making a political judgment without sufficient knowledge and thus also without sufficient substantiation". A day later Johannes Gross in the first program of the West German television sharply criticized Jaspers' "intolerable vanity, moral arrogance" and said his philosophical work contained "consciously inexact definitions, senseless repetitions". The actual purpose of this defamation became evident in a comparison made by Gross: He recalled British philosopher Bertrand Russell whom he accused of having "offered a lot of confused nonsense up to the now beginning show trial against the American Vietnam policy".

The organ of the monopolies, *Handelsblatt*, especially accused the Panorama editorial staff: it was disorienting the people because it was spreading Jaspers' "rigid models of thinking which had little to do with reality". (*Handelsblatt*, Düsseldorf, 4 January 1967)

Springer's *Welt* and the *Rheinischer Merkur* expressed it particularly plainly:

"At first, however, Panorama presented the 'German Cassandra in Basel', Professor Karl Jaspers, and his devastating views on the big coalition in Bonn... The editorial staff knew at the outset that Jaspers had an incontrovertibly bad opinion of the German parties. It therefore knew that a discussion with the self-willed scholar would lead into a political cul-de-sac. Therefore it was the deliberate intention to spoil the new Bonn coalition for the viewers." ("Panorama different—but fair?", *Die Welt*, Hamburg, 4 January 1967)

The *Rheinischer Merkur* demonstratively demands that television should exclusively conduct a sympathetic publicity for the policy of the Big Coalition; for this reason the new Panorama director would have to disappear, who for the first time was responsible for the transmission. The CDU paper threateningly inquired what was the aim of "spreading the views of a political eccentric who in addition was living abroad and causing disquiet among the easily influenced public? ... In face of the fatal failure of the new Panorama editorial staff under Peter Merseburger, one asks why Joachim Fest had to be relieved at all." (*Rheinischer Merkur*, Coblenz, 6 January 1967)

This open blackmail of a television editor by the leading CDU party organ is certainly nothing unusual to get excited about in West Germany. The forced dismissal of Panorama directors Rüdiger Proske, Gert von

Paczensky, Eugen Kogon and Joachim Fest have already produced a certain habituation to the policy of blackmail against democratically and anti-fascist minded journalists.

Pressure of Revanchist Leaders

What claims are made in particular by the revanchist associations active in West Germany on the mass media became evident from the television transmission „Poles in Breslau” by Jürgen Neven-du-Mont, which was beamed by North German Radio on 7 May 1963. The witch-hunt around this television film and its author strikingly shows the interplay between government representatives, parliamentarians and revanchist associations. Of all papers, the SS successor organ *Nation Europa* opened the witch-hunt:

“The decision in the struggle for the heart of Europe and thus for the destiny of mankind is made in editor’s offices, radio and television studios.”

And the clear demand on the Bonn government was: “It is therefore one of the most important tasks of responsible state leadership or a vigilant group of allies to make the people immune to the influence of the opponent in its own sphere of power. Every disruption of the self-confidence and the power of resistance must be prevented. This undoubtedly includes also as a partial field the elimination of those who as the fifth column are working in the ranks of their own society and order in favour of the opponent...” (*Nation Europa*, Coburg, 3 March 1963)

When the North German Radio announced that on 7 May—the eve of the liberation of the German people from fascism—it would beam the transmission “Poles in Breslau” over the first television program, the revanchist leaders became active and tried to force the cancellation of Jürgen Neven-du-Mont’s film. The then President of the “Federal Association of Expelled Persons” and CDU deputy Hans Krüger had it declared in the central information service of his association:

“As has become known in the meantime, radio and television reporter Jürgen Neven-du-Mont is to be responsible for the form of this project, one of those publicists whose preference for the areas on the other side of the iron curtain is just as well known as their antipathy to the legal claim of those expelled from their homeland...”

“If one recalls this incident or other similar transmissions whose directors were Messrs. Kogon, von Paczensky and Proske, then the objections of the expelled persons to the intention of the North German Radio seem more than appropriate. They represent the view that men like Neven-du-Mont or von Paczensky should be denied the qualification for that kind of radio and television work.” (*Deutscher Ostdienst* (dod), Bonn, 22 April 1963)

The press service published by the CDU federal

bureau in Bonn immediately sided with the revanchist leaders:

“But those who think that, because the Breslau transmission has not yet been shown, one must first wait and see, remind one of that fool who let the child play at the edge of the fountain, because it might after all not fall in.”

Nor did the CSU lose any time becoming the spokesman of the “healthy national feelings” expressed by the revanchist organizations:

“We have had our bad experiences with radio and television and primarily with certain television publicists such as Messrs. von Paczensky and Proske of Panorama in Hamburg and Neven-du-Mont in Frankfurt.” (*Volksbote*, Munich, 27 April 1963)

When despite all this the transmission “Poles in Breslau” was beamed after all, the witch-hunt intensified:

“Also in the CDU/CSU parliamentary group there is great excitement on the Breslau transmission of the North German Radio. A declaration of the parliamentary group says it is considered irresponsible that television on a foreign policy question should adopt an attitude which is in opposition to the conception of all democratic German parties. This one-sided attitude which is in obvious contradiction to the legal German point of view burdens the representatives of Germany in possible peace negotiations with a heavy mortgage.” (*Der Heimatvertriebene, der Flüchtling*, Bonn, 13 May 1963)

The statement of the CDU/CSU parliamentary group clearly shows what is to be thought of the much-praised freedom of opinion in West Germany. It is a freedom for unbridled revanchist propaganda, by no means, however, a freedom for opinions and expressions of realistically and reasonably thinking forces.

That the Social Democratic leaders also adopted no different attitude was shown by the debate on the transmission “Poles in Breslau” in the Bundestag. Herbert Wehner, it is true, did ask whether the government would see that the free expression of opinion would not be suppressed. But what he really meant was proved by the session held on the same day of the so-called “All-German Council”, an establishment which was created at his suggestion so that—as he himself expressed it—“nothing should happen behind the back of the Landsmannschaften (organizations of fellow countrymen)”.

The resolution adopted at the session of this “All-German Council” on 15 May 1963 proves once more who is to be granted freedom of opinion:

“The All-German Council objects to declaring members of organizations like that of persons expelled from their homeland as prejudiced, as if they had less right to free expression of opinion.

“Those who try to influence the discussion on vital questions of our people by trying to degrade other opinions by names such as ‘professional refugees’ and ‘expellee functionaries’ misjudge the role of those who

have undertaken the realization of honourable tasks for their fellow citizens." (*Neue Kommentare*, Frankfurt-on-Main, 1963, No. 12, p. 64)

The ceaseless barrage which was directed in this matter by all mass media at the West German population, did not fail to have an effect. In readers' letters to revanchist papers already at that time the "healthy national feelings" became evident, for which the expression "chauvinist" is still too mild: "The alleged objectivity of Herr Neven-du-Mont... is an evil trick of communist oriented eastern agents and their assistants in the western world..." (*Der Schlesier*, Recklinghausen, 16 May 1963, letter from G. P., Düsseldorf)

"If Herr Neven-du-Mont believes that the children being born there now have a greater right to Breslau as their home than I as a born Upper-Silesian... then he is not a German." (G. D., Hamburg-Volksdorf)

"The cheek of this gentleman borders on high treason. The Bundestag deputies ought to apply for a corresponding bill for the constitution to punish such offences with prison sentences." (A. J., Dortmund-Hörde)

Jürgen Neven-du-Mont, deeply shocked by these developments, visited the "Germany meeting of Silesians" on 19 June 1963 with the hope of having a clarifying discussion. The following is a choice from the vocabulary which welcomed Neven-du-Mont at this meeting:

"Down with the Blackguard!"

"Out of Germany with the Judas!"

"Knock him down!"

"Stamp this vile chap under foot!"

"Polish dog!"

"Communist swine!"

"The times will change—the times will change— just wait—and then—tomorrow it is our turn—but then, but then!"

Neven-du Mont said on this in an interview:

"... they were jumping at us, they also beat us with flagsticks, tried to pull us from the rostrum by the feet, overturn the cameras etc. In that case we would have been dealt with by the lynch law of that mob." (*Rheinischer Merkur*, Cologne, 21 June 1963)

During these events the then Federal Chancellor Konrad Adenauer and Willi Brandt were sitting on the tribune with expressions of indifference on their faces.

THE HELP GIVEN BY THE ENTERTAINMENT INDUSTRY

Three Thousand Million Copies of Trash

"As stupid as chickens and bloodthirsty as wolves"—with this short formula West German publicist Erich Kuby described the characteristics produced as a result of intellectual manipulation. He particularly referred to the Springer press. (Cf. E. Kuby, "The Story of the German Axel Who Left to Teach the East to Be Afraid", *Pardon*, Frankfurt-on-Main, 1962, October edition)

That is the tendency aimed at by the "culture for the masses" which influences the people day in and day out, issuing innumerable primitive appeals and deforming the people mentally and morally.

There is a permanent flow of pictures on cinema and television screens. Sellers of the big circulation newspapers call out their headlines. Colourful illustrated papers, magazines and novels tempt the passer-by. The majority of the reading-matter looks as if it were non-political and "realistic". The publisher Lübbe, Bastei Verlag who has since 1953 become a multi-millionaire, proudly brags that all the details in his romance-stories may easily be checked. Indeed, the readers of detective stories and the adventures of rogues and thieves—there are almost three million consumers of this kind of literature every week—can for instance check the distances covered by the "heroes" in New York's underworld—all they need is a stop-watch and a map of the city; medical terms and symptoms of diseases quoted in popular "medical fiction" might also be correct. All the same, this "literature" has nothing in common with reality.

Reality is merely used as a garnish. Even naturalistic photographic details cannot hide the fact that in this world of increasing social struggle, aggressive claims to border revisions and striving for nuclear weapons it is still the counts, daughters of big landowners, families of privy councillors, detectives and other romantic figures who are used for the purpose of distracting from the real problems of everyday life. There is the danger that the millions of readers of this trivial literature will, as time goes on, indeed become as "stupid as chickens". "Soldier pamphlets, gruesome detective stories, comic strips and utopian stories in cheap editions, illustrated papers and films have yet another function; they are used to vindicate the old nazis and militarists, to celebrate war as a "hard school for men", systematically to kill all human feelings, killers who commit crimes for their state are quoted—"bloodthirsty as wolves".

Since 1950 the Federal Republic has been flooded with about three thousand million copies of the worst trash. Three thousand million times brutal fighting, murder and manslaughter, three thousand million times trashy love, sweet life, vice, seduction and unrestrained desires. More than two-thirds of all films shown in 1965—66 in West Germany—to be exact 246 out of 362—were adventure, gangster, sex, crime or war films. Between 1960 and 1965 the share of films on "morals and enlightenment" increased by fifty percent. Up to 1963 985 war films were shown, 30 per cent of the film fans went to see them; but only nine anti-war films were shown in the same period.

No less than four official or semi-official bodies see to it that the films shown in West Germany comply with their task of forming their audience:

The "Inter-Ministerial Committee for East-West Film Questions",

the Committee to Award Film Prizes and Promotional Premiums, the Bureau for the Assessment of Films in Wiesbaden, the Voluntary Self-Control of the Film Industry.

Illegal Censorship

As far as the "Inter-Ministerial Committee" is concerned, it has been criticized even in West Germany for many years because of its obscure practices:

"On instructions of the federal minister of economics all films imported into the Federal Republic must be submitted for inspection to the committee, which advises the federal office of trade and counts among its members anonymous representatives of several federal ministries. Since, according to the 'Verbringungsgesetz' (a bill passed in 1961 which allows the customs authorities to stop suspicious goods) every imported film must be submitted to the federal office of trade and since the federal government may decide that 'films from certain countries are exempt from this obligation', it is above all films from the GDR and the neighbouring states in the east which are carefully examined and sometimes banned. Thus political censorship is exerted. (What is diabolical about censorship is the fact that the film does not reach the audience and that the individual is not aware of being subject to censorship and that his judgment is thus partially influenced or restricted.)" (*Junge Gemeinschaft*, Frankfurt-on-Main, 1960, No. 5, p. 20)

In recent years the following films, among others, have fallen a victim of that illegal censorship which, according to Article 5 in the Bonn Constitution, "does not exist":

"Quiet flows the Don", Parts 2 and 3, Soviet Union

"Destiny of a Man", Soviet Union

"The Russian Miracle", GDR

The showing of other films was sometimes delayed by that committee for years:

"The Subject", GDR

"Mother Johanna of the Angels", People's Republic of Poland

"The Higher Principle", Czechoslovak Socialist Republic

The Committee to Award Film Prizes and Promotional Premiums, mentioned above, decides on the award of the "German Film Prize" by the Bonn government, which includes 200,000 marks of promotional premiums for each film.

"The decisions of this body are always disputed since it is impossible to have unanimous opinions on questions of art, because the members of such a committee, of a mainly political composition, need not necessarily have the capacity to judge works of art and because they apply certain political standards. Hence such insignificant entertainment films as 'People in the Hotel' and 'Do you think Constanze acts correctly?' were awarded a prize, while socio-critical films such as Wolfgang

Staudte's 'Roses for the Public Prosecutor' and 'Kirmes' went away empty-handed. (H. Meyn, "Massenmedien der Bundesrepublik", West Berlin, 1966, p. 95)

Race-Hatred "Valuable"

The Bureau for the Assessment of Films in Wiesbaden owes its significance above all to the award of the titles "valuable" or "particularly valuable" which guarantees certain tax reductions for every such classified film, and consequently a particularly big circulation.

In 1966 the Bureau for the Assessment of Films awarded the title "valuable" to the film "Africa addio", a nasty piece of work by Italians Jacopetti and Prosperi who did not hesitate from having African freedom fighters in the Congo shot on orders so as to enable them to film their death-agony from the shortest possible distance and in the best possible light. West German journalist Rolf Seeliger said about the film:

"The tendency of race-hatred, increased by contrasting scenes is even worse than the multi-coloured exploitation of brutalities. On the one hand the black people who change back to cannibals, after the departure and expulsion of the whites, destroy the paradise handed over to them by the white lords and make their black regime of horror follow the golden age of colonialism. On the other hand, an idyllic island is praised as the bulwark and 'miracle' in the inferno of the South African Union, where white-skinned Aryan girls romp about and who—through the slow-motion camera—look as though they were angels hovering around the sea-shore: White innocence, belief and beauty in this terribly black world." (*Junge Gemeinschaft*, Frankfurt-on-Main, 1966, No. 5, p. 27)

Africans studying in West Germany were roused to indignation:

"The film is an orgy of racial contempt and colonial mastery; it shows an unreal picture of Africa. According to the producers' undoubtedly fascist conception of man the Africans are presented as wild beasts who think of nothing but massacre and for whom it would be best to be massacred themselves. Can one tolerate such concentrated slander against other peoples in Europe who claim to be cultivated?" (Ibid.)

"Africa addio" was not released in England—In West Germany the Bureau for the Assessment of Films regards the film as "particularly worthy of promotion".

"The grading system itself, by the way, was invented by Goebbels some 32 years ago..." (*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, Munich, 8 August 1966)

Arbitrary "Self-Control"

The "Voluntary Self-Control of the Film Industry" (FSK), mentioned above, exerts even greater influence on film policy in West Germany than all other bodies.

Bild Berlin, 18. Nov. 1966

Strauß: Wir sind kein Prügelknabe

Bonn, 18. 11.

Nur ein Volk mit gesundem Nationalbewußtsein kann seinen Mann stehen. Es muß endlich Schluß sein mit der Propaganda von einer deutschen Kollektivschuld. Wir wollen nicht länger der Prügelknabe anderer sein! Das erklärte CSU-Chef Franz-Josef Strauß auf einer Wahlversammlung in Weilheim/Oberbayern, Strauß: Man soll endlich aufhören, die Bundesrepublik in den Dreck zu ziehen.

This is how Springer's Bild-Zeitung creates the right kind of atmosphere: Strauss denies Germany's guilt for the Second World War, there should finally be an end to "throwing dirt at the Federal Republic" (left)—two weeks later Bild printed "anonymous letters to the editor" supporting the opinion of Strauss (below). (See section "The Power of Axel Cäsar Springer")

Anonym – Die Leser fordern: Macht Schluß mit der Vergangenheit

„Deutsche wollt Ihr ewig büßen?“

Bild ZEITUNG Berlin, 2. Dez. 1966

Nur Mißtraue:
Viele Deutschen
wollen sich gegen die
anti-deutschen
und antideutschen
Vorurteile wehren.
Der CSU-Chef
Strauß hat
dieses Ziel
aufgegriffen.
Der CSU-Chef
Strauß hat
dieses Ziel
aufgegriffen.
Der CSU-Chef
Strauß hat
dieses Ziel
aufgegriffen.



Books were burned in 1933 (above) and in Düsseldorf in 1965 (below). Not only the pictures are similar. On both occasions books by progressive and democratic authors, of

authors who were uncomfortable to the regime in power, fell victim to the flames.



The Springer newspaper trust uses SS slogans even in the domain of sport:

"Storm them, storm them, then the Ivans will be shaken!"

Rild

Berlin, 25. Juli 1966

Kommt Deutschland ins Endspiel?

17.00 Uhr in Liverpool

**Stürmt, stürmt,
dann wackeln auch
die Ivans!**

...aber Vorsicht vor
den schnellen Russen



Berlin, 8. Juli 1966



Krach um Erhard

Wirtschafts- und Finanzkreise sind sich einig: Maßhalteappelle genügen nicht mehr. Jetzt muß gehandelt werden. Alle müssen zurückstecken.

Berlin, 22. Nov. 1966



Nach der Bayern-Wahl: Auf geht's in Bonn!

Packt die Krise in den Schrack!

1.

**Deutschland braucht
schnell eine
starke Regierung**

2.

**● Finanzen ordnen!
● Industrie ankurbeln!
● Staat modernisieren!**

The Springer press and above all Bild-Zeitung helped to deepen the crisis of the Erhard government and to clear the road for a "strong" government, by systematically influencing readers (above).

Bild welcomed the Kiesinger/Strauss government and suggested to readers in the spirit of the new government, that there would have to be more work and greater sacrifices (right).

Montag, 28. November 1966 - 15 Pf

Bild
ZEITUNG

Berlin

Nach hartem Kampf: SPD-Fraktion für Große Koalition

Das Land atmet auf: Die Krise in Bonn ist tot

Jetzt geht's wieder Aufwärts!

Aber nur durch Opfer und Arbeit

Bild

Berlin, 14. Dez. 1966

● Grünes Licht für die Wirtschaft

● Rotes Licht für Interessen-Gruppen

● Alle müssen Opfer bringen

Jetzt geht's der Krise an den Kragen

Nach Einsparung des „großen“ Finanzrahmens: Erhöhung der Währungsdruck.

Bild

Berlin, 30. Dez. 1966

Schluß mit der Seelenmassage!

Jedes Kind weiß, daß wir alle 1967 dem Staat mehr Geld geben müssen. Und daß der Staat uns allen weniger geben wird.

Jews by the nazis is described as a pure lie (left). At the same time that paper glorifies the Hitler regime and calls for a new Hitler (right).

und Soldaten-Zeitung

48 Jahrgang / Nr. 45 / 20. September 1944

Argentin. Pesos 50 Australien £ 2,11 Belg. Frs 10,- Brasil. Rs. 50 Britisch. Sh. 10,- Island. Kr. 10,-
 Ind. L. 100,- Japan. ¥ 200 Mex. Pes. 100 Niederl. G. 10 Norw. Kr. 10 Pers. Rials 100 Schwed. Kr. 10 Span. Ptas. 100 USA. \$ 0,75 Türk. L. 100

50 Pf. / S. L. - Ausgabe A / 4 C 2796 C

Ausverkauf in Germany? / Die Ausländer in der deutschen Wirtschaft

18. Jahrgang / Nr. 49 / 31. Oktober 1944

KUNST IN OSTBERLIN / Ulbrichts sozialistische „Nationalkultur“

Die jüdischen Einflüsse und ihre Ausschaltung

und Soldaten-Zeitung

Volksbetrug im „deutschen“ Fernsehen / So wird unser Volk in den Dreck gezogen

Sollen Berliner Kinder für NS-Verbrechen büßen?

Deutsche
National-Zeitung

und Soldaten Zeitung

Der Dolchstoß der Sozialisten im Ersten Weltkrieg / 1119



Haben die Radikalen jetzt das Heft übernommen? - Eine ernste Mahnung

Nach Meldungen aus New York hat der „Jüdische Weltengroß“ beschlossen, „die Weltmeinung“ gegen die NPD und Deutschland zu mobilisieren und „die Remigration der zehrig will der Weltengroß seine Bemühungen aktivieren weitere „23 000 deutsche Kriegsverbrecher aufzunehmen, die sich nach c-1 freiem Fuß befinden“. Die weltweite

Deutsche
National*Zeitung

und Soldaten-Zeitung

6

Machten die Deutschen Seife aus Menschen?

Deutsche
National*Zeitung
und Soldaten-Zeitung

18. Jahrg. / Nr. 48 / 7. Oktober 1966

Abonn. Preis: 60 / Ausland: 5,50 / Porto: 1,00 / Druck: 10 / Vertrieb: 10 / Gesamtpreis: 76,50

60 Pf. / S. 8.- / Ausgabe A / 4 C 2299 C

So leben die Menschen unter Ulbricht / SED-Staatsapparat / Befehlshaber Moskau

„Hitler war ein Genie“

Wann beherrschen Nazis wieder Deutschland?

Deutsche
National*Zeitung
und Soldaten-Zeitung

18. Jahrg. / Nr. 49 / 8. Dezember 1966

Abonn. Preis: 60 / Ausland: 5,50 / Porto: 1,00 / Druck: 10 / Vertrieb: 10 / Gesamtpreis: 76,50

60 Pf. / S. 8.- / Ausgabe A / 4 C 2299 C

Wurde Boeing vor Berlin abgeschossen? / Geheimnisse um Postflugzeug

Brandt - Norweger oder Deutscher?
Die furchtbare Vergangenheit des Vizekanzlers

Deutsche, wollt Ihr ewig sühnen?

Deutsche
National*Zeitung
und Soldaten-Zeitung

16. Jahrg. / Nr. 51 / 23. Dezember 1966

Abonn. Preis: 60 / Ausland: 5,50 / Porto: 1,00 / Druck: 10 / Vertrieb: 10 / Gesamtpreis: 76,50

60 Pf. / S. 8.- / Ausgabe A / 4 C 2299 C

Plant Bonn KZs für „politisch Unzuverlässige“? / Wenn der „Notstand“ kommt

Weil Kiesinger ein Nazi war

NPD - durch Terror zum Sieg?

Deutsche
National*Zeitung
und Soldaten-Zeitung

16. Jahrg. / Nr. 50 / 16. Dezember 1966

Abonn. Preis: 60 / Ausland: 5,50 / Porto: 1,00 / Druck: 10 / Vertrieb: 10 / Gesamtpreis: 76,50

60 Pf. / S. 8.- / Ausgabe A / 4 C 2299 C

Senkt die Steuern! / Schluß mit Entwicklungshilfe, Wiedergutmachung, Devisenausgleich und anderen Tributen!

Deutsche
National*Zeitung
und Soldaten-Zeitung

16. Jahrg. / Nr. 49 / 9. Dezember 1966

Abonn. Preis: 60 / Ausland: 5,50 / Porto: 1,00 / Druck: 10 / Vertrieb: 10 / Gesamtpreis: 76,50

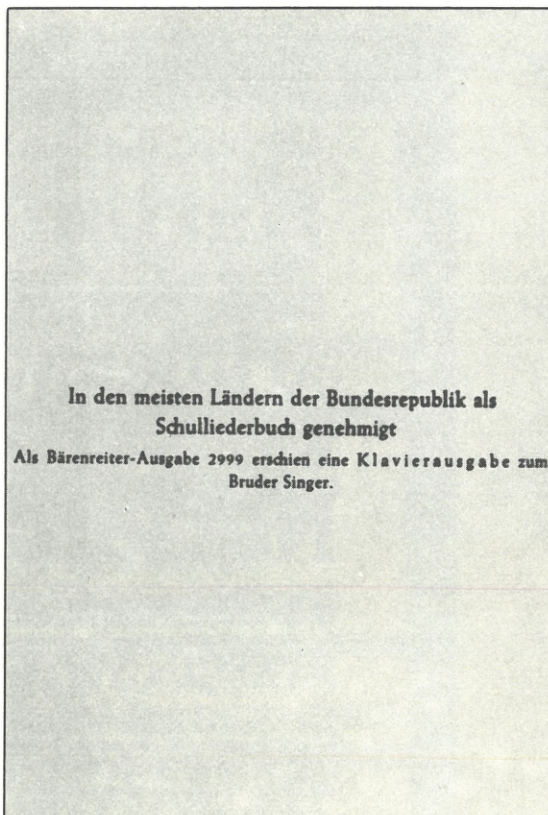
60 Pf. / S. 8.- / Ausgabe A / 4 C 2299 C

Brandts Mißwirtschaft in Berlin / Albertz' schweres Erbe

Kommt nach Kiesinger ein 2. Hitler?

These illustrations are taken from a West German song book which as expressly noted by the publisher, is licenced for use in schools. It also contains the so-called "Deutschland-lied" (one of the state hymns during the nazi period), with

the chauvinistic text: "Deutschland über alles in der Welt" (Germany above everything in the world). (See section: "The School in the Grasp of the Manipulators")



Das Deutschlandlied

1. | Deutsch-land, Deutsch-land ü - ber al - les, ü - ber
wenn es stets zu Schutz und Trut - ze brü - der -
al - les in der Welt, Von der Maas bis an die
lich zu - sam - men hält! Me - mel, von der Etsch bis an den Belt. Deutsch-land,
Deutschland ü - ber al - les, ü - ber al - les in der Welt!

The FSK has to release every film which is to be shown in West Germany. A film which does not have the release of the FSK cannot be shown in the cinemas.

The principles of the FSK issued in 1949 laid down: "It is the task of the FSK to see to it that the film . . . does not exert a negative influence in the moral, religious and political field. No film should present subjects, actions or situations which might

- a) offend moral or religious sentiments, above all have an immoral or brutal effect;
- b) promote national-socialist, militarist, imperialist, nationalist and race instigation tendencies;
- c) endanger Germany's relations with other states, in particular disparage their governments, official representatives and institutions;
- d) endanger or abase the constitutional and legal foundations of the German people in their totality and in the provinces;
- e) falsify historic tendencies by way of marked propagandist or biased representation . . ."

(Quoted from L. Decuritis, *"Film und Jugendkriminalität"*, Zurich 1961, p. 50)

Meanwhile these principles have been changed. Originally it was said: "No film should present subjects, actions or situations which might . . . promote national-socialist tendencies", the word "national-socialist" was replaced in 1960 by the words "anti-democratic (national-socialist, bolshevist and others)". The meaning and significance of this alteration correspond exactly to the anti-communist practice, exercised in West Germany for a number of years, of identifying fascism with communism and defaming communist society as being anti-democratic. Paragraph c) was also given a new version. Originally it was said that no film should present subjects, actions or situations which might endanger Germany's relations with other states, in particular disparage their governments, official representatives and institutions.

The corresponding paragraph in the new version of 1 March 1960 reads: "... endanger Germany's relations with other states or degrade Germany's prestige in foreign countries".

The sentence that governments of other states and their official representatives and institutions must not be disparaged was deleted already in 1955 at the time when the production of anti-communist and particularly anti-Soviet films began. Even according to the rules of the FSK, the way was now free for such inciting films. (Cf. M. Löffler, *"Selbstkontrolle von Presse, Funk und Film"*, Munich and West Berlin, 1960, p. 55)

The voluntary self-control has no scruples when it is a matter of releasing war and horror films. But the people concerned express the greatest doubts on films dealing critically with the existing society in one way or the other, or if the films might serve the democratic overcoming of the past. In that case certain conditions are imposed and the films are often cut. The DEFA film

"The Subject", which was shown in West Germany after a delay of five years, was cut 360 metres, among other scenes, the last one showing the undamaged monument to Kaiser Wilhelm in a world of rubble, with background music of a distorted version of the Horst Wessel song was a victim of the scissors.

The FSK shows great generosity with respect to films produced during the nazi period:

"Hitler's star producer Veit Harlan was particularly favoured. Meanwhile his worst concoctions have found a patron again. The fascist sentimental trash "Opfergang", produced in 1944, was cut by a mere three and a half minutes; young people over 16 are allowed to see the film. 'Youth', a film of pure nazi ideology, produced in 1938, was cut by eight minutes and released for people above 16 years . . . 'The Golden City' (1942) with its brown mysticism, cut by 5 minutes, can again be performed (from 16 onwards). 'Scattered traces', a Harlan film (1938) may again spread its nazi-stench after having been cut by one whole minute. The FSK decided in favour of the 16-year limit. The true Harlan film 'Pedro shall be hanged' (1941) was also shortened by a mere two minutes and released for sixteen year olds onwards. . . . For quite some time Willi Birgel has again been in the saddle and '... rides for Germany'. The sickening tendency in this 'politically valuable' film produced by A. M. Rabenalt in 1941, still remains after being cut by twelve minutes. The FSK was generous and released the deception for children from six years onwards . . . Liebeneiner's 'Dismissal' produced in 1942 is nothing but a mean disparagement of the working-class movement. This 'Film of the Nation', in which Felix von Eckardt collaborated, was released by the FSK for children from 12 years onwards. A mere eight minutes were taken out and the film remained what it was: 'politically valuable' in the spirit of Hitler . . . Films once listed 'politically valuable' in the Goebbels era are released by our FSK for children from 12 years onwards . . ." (H. Stettner, "Instances of the FSK's generosity—Formerly banned nazi films have long since been rehabilitated—", *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 11 February 1965)

Whereas the Bureau for the Assessment of Films in Wiesbaden particularly recommended "Africa addio", the Italian film "The Secluded of Altona" based on the play by Jean Paul Sartre did not pass the FSK censorship without being cut. The reason given by the FSK deserves to be mentioned:

"The committee considered it to be intolerable to bring names like Krupp, Flick and Mercedes-Benz into a fatal association with the inhuman and criminal events of the nazi era, since they are today highly esteemed all over the world, also in the underdeveloped countries, because of their impressive achievements. The board of examiners had no intention whatsoever of inhibiting the well-meant tendency of the film which was to come to terms with the past: but citing individual names and defaming them has nothing to do with 'overcoming the

past'; all the more so since the symbolic film makes use of realistic details in an unnecessarily offensive manner by such personal attacks without it being justified by convincing impartiality." (R. Blüthner, "There Will Be No Censorship—the Cutters of the Rhine—Documentation", *Sonntag*, Berlin, 1963, No. 47)

Thus Krupp, Flick and Mercedes-Benz are regarded by the FSK as rehabilitated. It is therefore not surprising that with such a film policy the war film has found very fertile ground in West Germany. The various ideological varieties of this kind of "film art" are classified in a West German inquiry as follows:

"The merry soldiers. To be a soldier does not mean war but enjoyment ('Private Bumm in trouble').

The bad nazis and their good soldiers. The German Wehrmacht was all right; only the political leadership was criminal, because it lost the war ('Undertaking Edelweiss', 'Star of Africa', 'The Green Devils of Monte Casino').

The war as a sporting contest. These films live on the illusion that the war of the 20th century is fought as in the Middle Ages, according to a gallant code of honour ('One Came Through', 'Battle-cruiser Graf Spee', 'The Last Voyage of the Bismarck').

The war as school of the Nation. The soft world of civilians is contrasted with war as the last reservation for men, for real fellows. ('U-boat Tigerhai', 'Bombing Pilots').

Defamation of the enemy. The tenor is: 'The others are wicked; kill them!' ('When the Blood Boils', 'The Night Fell on Gotenhafen'.") (R. E. Thiel, "Eight types of war films", *Filmkritik*, Frankfurt-on-Main, 1961, No. 11)

Parallel to belittling or glorifying of the Second World War, propaganda films for the Bundeswehr flit across West German screens.

"The censors again demonstrated unrestrained generosity . . . in regard to all propaganda films of the Bundeswehr: they can also in future be shown to children from the age of six. No matter whether they show war-like manoeuvres on land, sea or in the air, children who have just started school can watch them. In these 'human' war films nobody is, of course, injured or killed and the children will find that very amusing . . ." (*Junge Gemeinschaft*, Frankfurt-on-Main, 1966, No. 5, p. 24)

The Bond-Wave

The young people in West Germany may also find amusement in the adventures of James Bond, which present in celluloid a hitherto unknown degree of brutality, false pathos, unrestrained sexuality and false romance. When one of the films of this series, "Goldfinger" started to bring big business, the self-control for films speedily released it for 16-year-olds.

"Now 'Goldfinger' has become the opponent of the hero James Bond! A man whose mere name awakens evil instincts: Once again one of those Jews, of course, probably the ruler of international Jewry . . . Such anti-Semitic tendencies are of course not openly expressed in the film, they remain obscure, just like almost everything else, which makes those novels and films so very dangerous. All the types of sub-humans in Jan Fleming's stories belong to groups of peoples against whom there exist conscious or unconscious prejudices in any case: Russians, Chinese, Negroes or half-casts . . ." (*Spandauer Volksblatt*, West Berlin, 9 March 1965)

When the Bond wave rose Hans-Christoph Buch aptly analyzed those films:

"That is . . . the ideology of the SS-killer, the functionary whose task it is to function and to leave the thinking to the superiors. All the customary ingredients of this intellectuality have been brought together . . . Of course he does not like what he is doing, because personally he has nothing against the people; duty has been replaced by the job, but an order is still an order and after all it is for the fatherland; finally, not even the notorious love for animals counts." (H.-G. Buch, "James Bond or the Petty Bourgeois in Arms", *Der Monat*, West Berlin, 1965, No. 8)

The Soldier Booklets

The ideology of the James Bond films did not meet the West German audience unprepared. Long before the first films came out millions of readers were made ripe for them by the so-called Landser (soldier) booklets. When the Kurt Vohwinkel publishing-house in Heidelberg submitted the first volume of its series "Landser before the enemy", the text on the cover read:

"For those who have been in the front-lines, war is in the first place an adventure. This book and the others which will follow, want to give a picture of this adventure. With this concern it not only addresses the old Landser but anyone who regards the confrontation with foreign countries and other people in the exceptional form of war as a worth-while experience—above all also young people." (Quoted from *Vorwärts*, Bad Godesberg, 22 December 1965)

The entire happenings in the war are described in individual episodes. Each of them appears as a "test" for the individual soldier or certain units of the Wehrmacht. Thus the war is given the appearance of a series of individual adventures which have to be gone through by the soldier and his leadership. The political causes of the war are deliberately concealed by this kind of "literature". Since there is also no indication as to the motive of the "enemies", the war is presented as a kind of natural phenomenon which the individual soldier, as well as the peoples as such have to put up with. It is glorified into a mystic "competition of the peoples".

The announcement of its 400th Landser story was used by the Pabel publishing-house to explain its ideological motives:

"Also in future it will be our concern to bring the unique performance of the German soldier out of the darkness of oblivion and to appreciate in a fair way the fighters on the hostile front of that time. Our Landser books will also in future reflect the war with all its horror; it will, however, always be our intention to state quite plainly that the soldiers of the Wehrmacht also did nothing but their duty and that they staked their lives in the firm belief of the justice of the cause." (Ibid.)

This "theoretical" justification of the Landser literature which pretends to want to appreciate the past war adventure above all, conceals the real current aim of those booklets. They serve the purpose of presenting the "potential enemy" as a devil for the "red case" even before "the weapons speak". For instance like this:

"The grinning face of a Russian appears. Like a flash I pressed the trigger and finally saw him lying in the snow, his head shot to pieces... He was a Mongolian... His almond-shaped eyes sparkled craftily at me, like those of a rat. Four hand grenades fly over and before me I saw a rolling bundle of human bodies. The snow was one huge pool of blood." (*Zwischen Wolchow und Leningrad*, Moewig booklet, No. 94)

Furthermore it is the concern of such "literature" to prepare the "grossdeutsche" Landser for the need of facing new "enemies". Today men with "slim and square soldiers' faces" and "sinewy fists" triumph in South East Asia over "crafty Vietminh communists". The production of this literature which goes into millions corresponds to the policy pursued by the Bonn-Washington axis, which tries to prove that "bolshevism is the greatest danger for Europe", irrespective of the colour of its representatives.

"And now my knife twitches in the dark. I hear a strangled sound. I fall to with my fists. I have him! He rears up, his feet push against me. Something moist and warm trickles along my fists firmly enclosing his throat. Blood. The Vietminh becomes limp and sags to the ground..." ("Der verlorene Haufen", Moewig special volume, No. 4)

Nobody will be able to maintain that this kind of "intellectual fare for the masses" was something unusual. At the beginning of 1967, an important West German news agency reported that the live transmission of American cut-throat actions in South Vietnam was imminent, an American satellite—"Intelsat-2" had already been put in position for the purpose. The transmissions to be relayed by the satellite will be a regular part of political information and entertainment programs for North American television audiences. From experience it is to be assumed that West Germany will also participate in this macabre show business: as far as intellectual manipulation goes, the West German authorities concerned have at all times been docile pupils of their teachers overseas.

The West German imperialists provide for the intellectual manipulation of the people with the help of a clever and ingenious state apparatus and in alliance with the powerful mass media. It is one of the perverse characteristics of this repulsive process that the ideological pioneers of neo-nazism and of economic, political and military expansion of German imperialism do not hesitate to make use of the term "freedom", even when that definition—parallel to the intellectual impoverishment in the course of manipulation—becomes increasingly meaningless:

"For our purposes in the present-day situation it is quite sufficient to define freedom in the following manner: Freedom is everything which those beyond the iron curtain do not have and everything which we have on this side of the iron curtain, despite all particular imperfections. That suffices for our purpose. We all know exactly what is meant by it." (*Frankfurter Allgemeine*, 29 January 1960)

Warning Voices

Karl Jaspers, who is more than eighty years old, must witness how the West German manipulators of public opinion discredit, ridicule and abuse him. With his critical mind he evaluates the bowdlerizations of terms cited above as follows:

"The beginnings of a depreciation of the free intellect point to an approaching dictatorship. We have to pose the question whether education, instruction, research, intellectual life are already languishing today at all, whether initiative is decreasing everywhere... The human masses developing out of this are being pre-formed for dictatorship, indeed they clamour for it." (K. Jaspers, "Wohin treibt die Bundesrepublik", Munich, 1966, p. 153)

Another German author—Gerhard Schoenberger—was born in 1931. His statements on the attempts made by German imperialism for a universal rule over the West German people make it clear that the forces offering resistance cannot be silenced—just as the nazi barbarians did succeed in stifling independent thinking, neither by manipulation nor by brutal force. Gerhard Schoenberger reduces the entire process of manipulation to its essential content when he says:

"Are we being informed correctly? Surely this cannot be seriously maintained by anyone. But it is being maintained every day and millions of people who are not in a position to know any better confidently believe it. If we were correctly informed—not only our journalism, our country would look different. 'Bonn' could not be continued in the old manner. If there were impartial and complete reports on the facts, corresponding to their real significance for political developments in the world of today—not isolated to an indefensible national and narrow European point of view or cramped by an obsolete political dogma—the consequences can

hardly be imagined. The citizen would ask questions which one does not want to answer; he would criticize where no criticism was allowed; he would understand what should not be understood. He would learn to think in context, he would orient himself, he would form his judgment, he would adopt a standpoint; he would

become mentally independent and if possible act responsibly, maybe by voicing a veto against the irresponsible action of 'responsible people'. He would put democracy in action and take it at its word". ("Information oder herrschen die Souffleure?", Hamburg, 1964, p. 72)

The Bundeswehr – Hotbed of Neo-nazism and Instrument of Aggression

WILL THERE BE SHOOTING AGAIN?

Three attempts—three German Heads of state—three quotations (By way of a motto)

“In view of present day socialist machinations it could be that I will order you to shoot down your own relatives, brothers, even your parents—God forbid—but even then you must carry out my orders without a murmur.”

Wilhelm II, German Kaiser, 23 November 1893 in Potsdam at the swearing-in ceremony of conscripts.

“Starting at 5 a. m. today we will shoot back.”
Adolf Hitler, September 1939 in Berlin in front of the Reichstag.

“The soldier of the Bundeswehr may be confronted with the situation of having to fight his own countrymen. This problem touches off a conflict of emotion and conscience which can only be overcome by people with strong personal convictions about the political concept of the western world and the Federal Republic.”

Heinrich Lübke, Federal President, 13 October 1961 in Hamburg-Blankenese, speaking at the leadership academy of the Bundeswehr.

THE MUTINY OF THE GENERALS

On 29 August 1966, 29 generals of the German air force assembled in Fürstenfeldbruck to hold a confidential meeting. According to information from the *Nürnberger Nachrichten* of 20–21 August 1966 the inspector of the air force Lieutenant General Panitzki was in the chair.

This was the last headquarters consultation for the cunningly devised mutiny during which the army command of the Bundeswehr contrived to pull yet another prop from under the government headed at that time by Erhard, whom they considered to be altogether too weak. To the financial crisis and the monetary exchange crisis the military leadership crisis had been added. In the days to follow there were screaming headlines and an outpouring of news:

“For the first time an Inspector of the Bundeswehr publicly intervened in a discussion about the administration of the German armed forces. Lieutenant General Werner Panitzki declared in an interview this weekend that the Defence Ministry is inadequately organized and that the areas of competence for the modern weapon system are split up.” (*Die Welt*, Hamburg, 22 August 1966)

"Officially, there was only a brief statement from the Ministry of Defence regarding the 'Panitzki case'—which broke over the Bonn summer holidays like a thunderstorm—which read: 'The Federal Minister of Defence sent a letter to the inspector of the air force, Lieutenant General Werner Panitzki on 22 August 1966 directing him not to carry on with his duties for the time being in view of his publicly voiced criticisms'." (*Die Welt*, Hamburg, 23 August 1966)

"The general inspector of the Bundeswehr, General Heinz Trettner tendered his resignation. With this the crisis in the Bundeswehr has reached a new climax." (*Die Welt*, Hamburg, 24 August 1966)

Two generals gone. Was it ambition or willfulness that prompted them to unleash a purely internal argument over scope of competence, extent of authority and power of decision? All kinds of military commentators were very soon unanimously of the opinion that this affair was more than a mere spectacle rigged for the satisfaction of personal ambitions—the generals had called for a showdown.

"After Panitzki follows Trettner. Within two days the German high command has bombarded the West German public with two sensational resignations. What is behind it? Is this just the manifestation of some conflict of conscience on the part of individual generals as some papers were inclined to assume yesterday, or has the high command unified for deliberate action? Are the generals perhaps using a weak moment of democracy to gain greater influence in the government?... It is known from the lessons of history, and not only from German history alone, that the military gladly uses any signs of instability to strengthen their own position." (*Westfälische Rundschau*, Dortmund, 24 August 1966)

"In the background of the affair lurks the attempt of a group of the high command to gain even more influence on the organization of the Ministry of Defence... Here is a case of a concealed struggle for power" (*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 25 August, 1966)

The new heads were very quickly installed in their headquarters:

"The top leadership of the Bundeswehr is being radically altered... thus the inspector of the army, Ulrich de Maizières was promoted to inspector general of the Bundeswehr and to a four-star-general. Maizières deputy, Major General Moll was promoted to Lieutenant General Inspector of the army." (*Die Welt*, Hamburg, 26 August 1966)

"Lieutenant General Johannes Steinhoff received on Friday, direct from Defence Minister von Hassel, the post of new inspector of the air force. Steinhoff, up till now chief of staff of the Allied Air Force Central Europe at Fontainebleau, replaces Lieutenant General Panitzki, who resigned..." (*Die Welt*, Hamburg, 3 September 1966)

It quickly became evident that the clique of generals had decided the "clandestine struggle for power" in their favour:

... "The new chief of the Bundeswehr has to fulfil a great mission. Difficult tasks await him. However, he took on command with the certainty that he would be able to complete his task... General de Maizières considers that it is also necessary in the international field to strengthen the position of the inspector general as spokesman of the soldiers and as the first military representative of the Bundeswehr... The military commanders, from company commander to the inspector general must have the authority required to shoulder the responsibility for the troops entrusted to them." (*Die Welt*, Hamburg, 1 September 1966)

"General Steinhoff considers it to be an essential need that the air force high command should have direct competence to instruct the department charged with the task of supplying air force equipment, attached to the main division of the military economy and military technology. This should include all guided missiles (rockets and all types of aircraft)—including their diverse weapon complements, munitions and fuel, as well as the electronic and other technical instruments and ground installations." (*Die Welt*, Hamburg, 12 September 1966)

The massive demands of Steinhoff were an expression of the West German armaments industry. The new five-year-plan of the Erhard cabinet for the extension of the Bundeswehr, which was still in the planning stage at the time of the military crisis was based on weapons and technical equipment which were to be supplied by the American armaments trusts. However, the new colossal capital investments were something the German monopolies, which had grown huge during eight decades of armament did not wish to miss. Erhard and von Hassel who were on the eve of a journey to America—hesitated. Therefore the gentlemen from the boards of directors allied themselves directly with the high command to present their demands for expanding their influence in the Washington–Bonn partnership and to secure for themselves to a greater measure the giant armaments business of atomic weapons, rockets and airplanes. Their spokesman became the former war minister Strauss, probably the most unbridled political exponent of German militarism after the war, himself mixed up in numerous scandals of corruption in the international armaments business. It was he above all who supported the generals and who encouraged them.

"Strauss now demands recognition of the reasons for the Bundeswehr crisis and appropriate measures... there is however, no reason to drag up again the old question of the relation of the army to the state or to the nation... The Bundeswehr has a very specific task. It must be given the opportunities and the means to fulfil these tasks." (*Die Welt*, Hamburg, 25 August 1966)

The top generals were more than eager to carry out their part of the conspiracy. The traditional principle of offensive aggressiveness in the German high command developed by Schlieffen, Ludendorf and Keitel should

be preserved: The Bundeswehr generals were intent on extending their influence in order to rescue the conception of offensive advance strategy from the general crisis of the North Atlantic military treaty, which had become plainly visible since the withdrawal of France from NATO. The new chief, General de Maizière had long since shown himself to be a vigorous advocate of this idea:

"With the assertion of the advance defence scheme the federal government achieved a decisive victory which was only made possible through the building up of the Bundeswehr and its incorporation in NATO." (U. de Maizière, *Die Landesverteidigung im Rahmen der Gesamtverteidigung, Grundsatzschrift*, Hamburg, 1964)

The mutiny of the generals, with its cause and consequences had its most obvious expression at the close of 1966 when the power of the Bonn state was shifted on to stronger shoulders. To the extent that the restoration period of monopoly rule had been completed, the build-up of the Bundeswehr had also been in the main accomplished. And in the same spirit, with which the influential leaders of monopoly capital had directed their policy towards expansionist aims, the high command was now determined to take up a dominant position in the structure created by this expansionist policy—a situation which already had occurred several times in German history. For this sort of manoeuvre, the Erhard/von Hassel cabinet did not show the adequateadroitness. The new Kiesinger/Strauss government joined itself to the new high command of the Bundeswehr with its extended authority. Under the changed conditions of political distribution of power, in agreement with the bosses of the most powerful trusts who wanted to secure the use of rightwing pressure through military power, and supported by an army which two decades after a lost war had risen to be the most dangerous military force in Europe, the leading generals of the Bundeswehr asserted themselves in the main issue—they extended their influence over the entire range of policy of the West German Federal Republic.

THE MACHINERY OF THE ARMED FORCES

Konrad Adenauer, first federal chancellor of the Bonn Republic, writes in his *Memoirs*:

"On 16 November 1950 the communist Renner, delivered such an intensely nationalistic speech in the Bundestag that I was extremely surprised. One should have no illusions about the success of this kind of communist agitation. The excuse that rearmament or participation of the Federal Republic in a European-American army would deepen the division of Germany has been used very readily to justify a refusal to shoulder dangerous consequences . . .

"It was very necessary for something to happen in order to bring about a psychological change in the attitude of the majority of the German people . . .

"At a meeting of the High Commissioners on 17 August 1950 I raised the question of security . . . McCloy asked me if I were in a position to call up 150,000 reliable volunteers . . .

"To be able to answer this question . . . I would be very grateful if I could have access to the documentation which the western allies compiled over the past years about former officers and soldiers in West Germany. I was convinced that I would then be in a position to assemble a considerable number of efficient men within a few months." (K. Adenauer, *Erinnerungen*, Stuttgart, 1965, p. 354)

This was the birth of the Bundeswehr. National traitors, executors of the Hitler Wehrmacht and political demagogues were the mid-wives. Today the phase of its reconstruction is past—with regard to personnel as well as to structure, with regard to equipment as well as training. The units of aggression are in readiness.

At the end of 1966 the land, sea and air forces comprised a total of 465,000 active service men. The distribution of the various defence forces:

Army	289,500 men
Air Force	98,400 men
Navy	33,500 men
Territorial army	34,700 men
Central services	7,300 men

The bureaucracy which is not directly part of the armed forces comprises 165,000 officials, judges, staff and a subordinate labour force.

A total of 980,000 men of the reserve, who have completed military training in barracks are called the "sleeping army". Each year this contingent is increased by 140,000 men. The importance attached to this "sleeping army" has been explained by Colonel Jürgen Karbe, inspector of the reserve in the command of territorial defence:

"The particular and completely new value of the reservist for the state, the Bundeswehr and civilian life is due to the fact that he knows the laws of psychological war and continuously imparts his knowledge." (*Truppenpraxis*, Frankfurt-on-Main, 1966, No. 12)

Details of the Structure of the Bundeswehr:

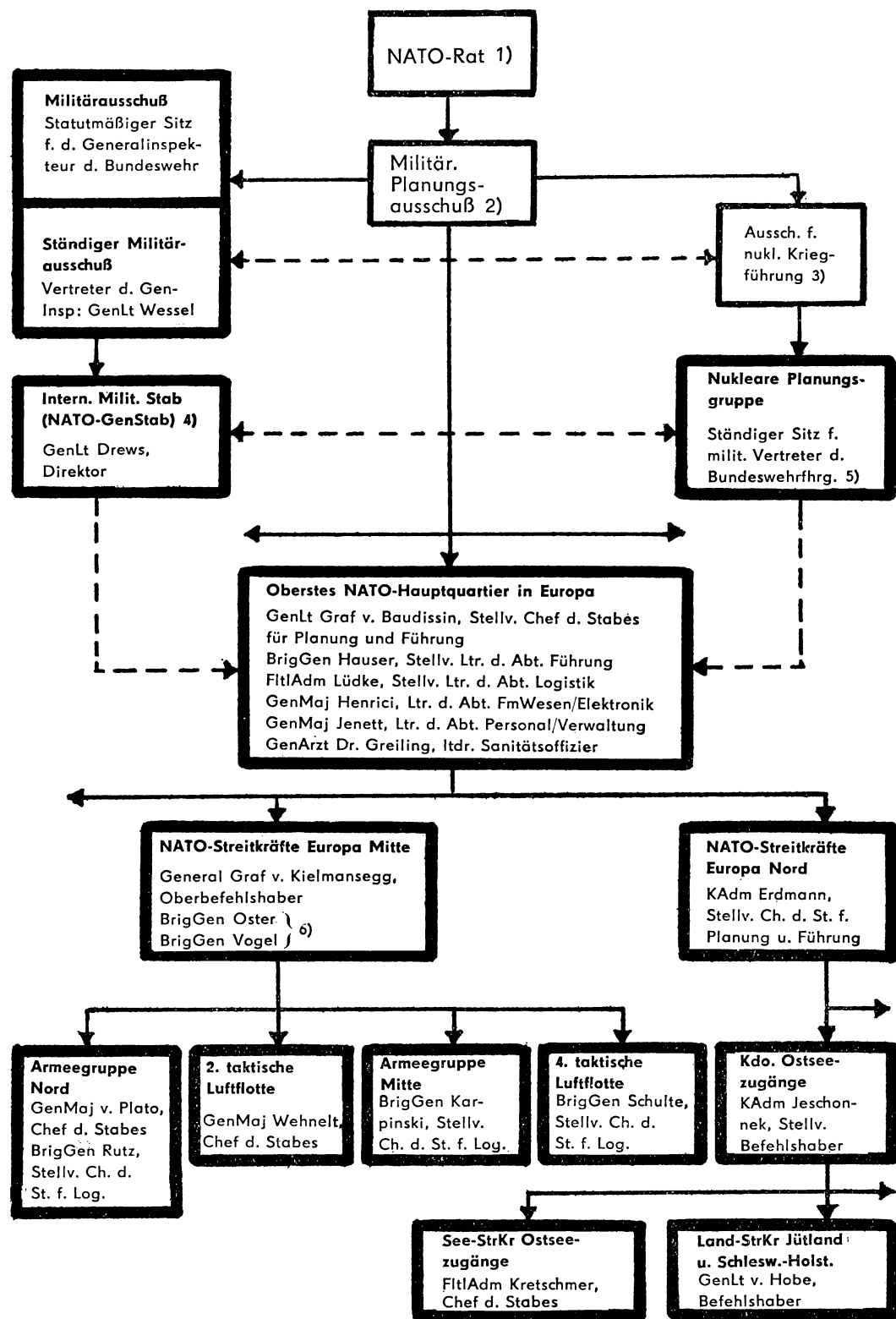
Army

Seven tank guard divisions, 3 tank divisions, 1 mountain rifle division, 1 parachute division.

The army units are equipped with the "Sergeant" tactical-operational rocket and "Honest John" tactical rocket.

Seventy-eight 203.2 mm calibre howitzers, 180 150 mm calibre howitzers and 120 175 mm calibre canon can also be used for atomic warheads.

The graph shows the penetration of the NATO command by generals of the West German Bundeswehr (at the end of 1966/ cf. section on "Bundeswehr Generals in the NATO Command structure")



Generals of the Bundeswehr in the structure of the NATO command (at the end of 1966)

The commanding officials and other military bodies of NATO are indicated in the diagram with a heavily outlined rectangle. The structure of the command is only shown to the extent to which West German generals are represented there. Solid lines with arrows indicate command avenues, broken lines indicate cooperation or influence.

1. Top political body of NATO on government level.
2. Body of the war ministers of the NATO countries established at the end of 1966 without France. (DPC)
3. Permanent body of political representatives of 12 NATO countries developed from the provisional "McNamara Committee". (NDAC)
4. Under the name "International military staff" and replacing the former planning headquarters of the "Standing Group" a new NATO general staff was established. Lieutenant General Drews was appointed "Assistant Director" of this staff.
5. The name of the West German general who has been sent there is not yet known. (NATO designation: NPG)
6. The entry of Generals Oster and Vogel into the Central European command from the dissolved headquarters of the Central Army command (Oster) and Central Air Force command (Vogel) has not yet been confirmed. On the other hand it is not known that these generals have received any other appointments.

Besides the generals of the Bundeswehr marked on the diagram, the following West German generals are active at the command staffs of NATO as so-called military representatives, delegates or other liaison officers (attachés are not named):

- Admiral of the Fleet Thomsen, military representative of West Germany at the Supreme NATO Headquarters in Europe;
- Brigadier General Selle, accredited deputy of the command of the Bundeswehr at the NATO Central European High Command;
- Major General Müller (Johannes), "German Northern deputy" (i.e. with the NATO army group North);
- Brigadier General Gieser, "German deputy, Centre" (i.e. with the NATO Army group Centre);
- Rear Admiral Neuss, "German representative, Europe north" (i.e. with the NATO land forces Jütland/Schleswig-Holstein and the sea forces of the Baltic sea approaches);
- Brigadier General Becker, chief of ZDVP (Central West German liaison with Portugal important to the West German air force base Beja and its supply);
- Major General Köhler, Federal Government Commissioner for the French troops stationed in the Federal Republic;
- Brigadier General Bensien, head of the liaison headquarters of the Bundeswehr established in Washington for acceptance of the West German military purchases in the United States.

Airforce

Five heavy fighter bomber wings, 2 light fighter bomber wings, 2 heavy reconnaissance wings, 2 light fighter wings, 3 transport squadrons, 2 air-rescue and communication squadrons, 1 helicopter transport squadron, 6 "Nike-Hercules" anti-aircraft battalions, 9 "Hawk" anti-aircraft battalions, 2 "Pershing" air missile squadrons.

For nuclear warheads the heavy "Starfighter" bombers are very important. In the 5 wings over 200 machines are fitted for atomic bombs of an explosive power in the range of several megatons. In the two squadrons directly under NATO command. "Starfighters" with atomic bomb load are part of the service roster, i.e., they are ready for action at all times.

The air missile squadrons have over 16 launching platforms. Their "Pershing" rockets can carry 1.5 megaton atomic warheads. According to statements of the U.S. war department 7,000 atomic warheads of diverse sizes are deposited on West German territory in close vicinity of Bundeswehr bases. They are ready to be handed over immediately. War minister McNamara stated before the Senate Armed Forces Committee on 23 February 1966:

"I wish to remind you here once more that we have already placed at the disposal of our European NATO partners a considerable defence potential for tactical atomic warheads—in the form of various weapon systems which can carry atomic warheads (including aircraft, air missiles and artillery) and training of numerous allied soldiers in the use of these weapon systems. In the last few years the number of tactical atomic weapons in Western Europe has been increased by about 85 per cent. (*Handbook of NATO*, Frankfurt-on-Main 1966)

Navy

Three destroyer squadrons with 8 ships, 5 speed boat squadrons with 48 ships, 5 mine-sweeper squadrons with 48 ships, 1 cruiser squadron with 6 ships, 1 landing craft squadron with 6 ships, 1 submarine squadron with 8 ships, 1 submarine fighter squadron with 5 boats, 1 coast guard squadron with 10 boats, 1 mine-carrier squadron with 2 ships, 3 squadrons of seaplane forces.

Territorial army

Approx. 170 battalions of various designations which can be supplemented any time with mobilized forces.

The following is a table of comparative strengths of those West European armies whose troops have been partially or completely integrated in NATO:

Federal Republic	465,000 men
Great Britain	425,000 men
Netherlands	142,000 men
Belgium	110,000 men
Denmark	94,000 men
Luxembourg	3,600 men

INTEGRATION FOR DESTRUCTION

Supported by its highly developed and continually growing military power, the Bundeswehr is busily engaged in acquiring superiority in the European area of NATO—"through securing higher posts for Germans in the political and military NATO hierarchy;

"through securing the German right to participate in the drafting of the current NATO-strategy." (*Der Spiegel*, Hamburg, 1965, No. 51)

It is a fact that the heavily armed West German army with its 12 army divisions, 16 air force wing squadrons and 19 naval squadrons has the largest military contingent of all European NATO partners. West Germany has integrated its entire armed forces (with the exception of its troops for territorial defence) in NATO. The entire 12 army divisions of Bonn are placed under the European NATO High Command, as compared to only 5 American, 3 British, 2 Belgian and 2 Dutch divisions. Simultaneously the Bonn air force supplies the 2nd and 4th tactical air forces of NATO with the greatest number of fighter planes:

USA	19.5 per cent
Great Britain	6.0 per cent
Canada	10.5 per cent
Netherlands	13.0 per cent
Belgium	10.0 per cent
West Germany	23.0 per cent

With regard to equipment the Bundeswehr also easily takes first place among the other European armed forces in the NATO areas of Central Europe and the Baltic Sea approaches:

Country	Numbers of army personnel	Fighting tanks	Cannon artillery	Atomic warhead missiles
West Germany	252,500	2,688	1,504	454
Great Britain	58,500	666	292	93
Belgium	40,000	564	246	68
Netherlands	41,000	424	353	86
Denmark	28,000	424	422	104

With this military potential behind them two Bundeswehr generals have taken up decisive key positions in the European NATO system: General Graf Baudissin, as deputy chief of staff, runs the division of planning and control at the headquarters of the NATO High Command Europe; General Graf Kielmansegg is commander of the NATO European Central Command.

In recent times the top command of the Bundeswehr also considerably strengthened its position in the NATO northern command. West German Rear Admiral Erdmann describes his command competence within this command apparatus AFNORTH, thus:

"I am at the head of a planning department. In this capacity I am responsible in case of an emergency for carrying out and coordinating the 'defence plans' for the whole of Northern Europe, from the North Cape to the Elbe, on land, sea and in the air. In the Oslo headquarters, organized along Anglo-Saxon lines, one body... plays an especially important part: the commando group. It consists of the commander-in-chief and a small number of generals and admirals. These bodies make the actual decisions in times of peace and emergency. In my capacity as chief of operations I belong to this group." (*Kieler Nachrichten*, 29 June 1966)

In view of these advances of the West German high command to key positions in NATO, more and more warning voices are being raised even among the allies:

"West Germany—completely disarmed 20 years ago—is beginning to make itself felt as the strongest conventional military power." (*US News and World Report*, Washington, 12 September 1966)

"British troops in Germany could possibly come under the direct control of German generals." (*Daily Express*, London, 26 July 1966)

THE FLIGHT FORWARD

The mutiny of the generals had yet another side: it showed itself as a crisis in the Bundeswehr command and was evaluated accordingly by some fairly important sections of public opinion. Confidence in the reliability of the North Atlantic alliance system was shaken. The usefulness of giant armaments expenditure was doubted. Even on the periphery of the government camp, voices were raised demanding a realistic military policy and the re-organization of the Bundeswehr into a conventionally equipped defence army. The military expert retired Colonel von Bonin for instance, advocated the reduction of the Bundeswehr to a strength of approximately 250,000 men which would automatically also bring with it a reduction of the enormous armaments budget.

Notwithstanding this the Kiesinger/Strauss government, from the first days of its rule insisted on the atomic arms program devised by the army command. Due to its increased military power the government feels in a position to add variations to its policy of border revisions, and the Bundeswehr has not missed any opportunities to impress on the new government that it also expects such a policy.

General Graf Kielmansegg, the Chief of the NATO Central European command, formulated his theory very clearly in an interview: "Forward defense right on the demarcation line".

Questioned whether this entailed plans to use atomic weapons, Count Kielmansegg said:

"As many atomic weapons and their use as early as necessary for a chance of success" (*Die Welt*, Hamburg, 11 October 1966)

General de Maizière, the new Bundeswehr chief, refused on 20 December 1966 any attempt to consider a defensive concept.

Equally clear also was the language of Schröder, who was placed in a position as the new war minister, to enforce with military support the program he had already drafted of a foreign policy of revenge. From the leadership academy of the Bundeswehr in Hamburg-Blankenese he rejected any reduction of NATO contingents on West German territory:

"For the effectiveness of NATO two factors are decisive: firstly, the presence of conventional and nuclear force and the engagement of the US in Europe, and secondly, the force of the European partners of the alliance..."

"So far the question is not yet clarified, in what manner and to what extent the non-nuclear partners of the alliance should participate in the planning and further development of the nuclear policy and strategy of the alliance. For such cooperation, the nuclear planning committee, which was inaugurated as a permanent body at the last NATO conference of ministers in Paris, offers an important possibility. Our particular interest in this cooperation is not least based on the fact that the use of nuclear weapons could only be made from German soil and on German soil." (*Bulletin des Presse- und Informationsamtes der Bundesregierung*, Bonn, 1967, No. 4)

From the crisis of command evidenced by the mutiny of the generals the government and top army leadership have escaped through heightened aggressiveness.

THE DOCTRINE OF WAR

The massive demands of the war minister and his Generals de Maizière and Kielmansegg turned out to be the topical confirmation of the basically completed military doctrine of Bonn.

These words of Bundestag President Gerstenmaier are well known:

"Against all opposition we insist on the reestablishment of a balance between the economic and the political importance of Germany in the world." (*Christ und Welt*, Stuttgart, 17 September 1965)

The chairman of the foreign policy work group of the CDU/CSU Bundestag fraction, Majonica, made clear how Gerstenmaier's words are to be interpreted:

"We have very wide-set aims in our foreign policy. Reunification entails a radical change of power relationships as they developed in Europe after the Second World War... Only very rarely has the outcome of a war been corrected afterwards by peaceful means." (*Politisch-Soziale Korrespondenz*, Bonn, 1966, No. 1)

The sceptical attitude regarding peaceful means logically leads to a shift of emphasis in policy towards the particular power which seems suited to attain the envisaged aims by military means. Since the orientation of the Bundeswehr command can be manipulated by the

leaders of West German monopoly capitalism there are possibilities for long-term solutions as well as quick and brutal utilization of seemingly favourable opportunities.

A series of publications on military theory and an evaluation of several headquarters command exercises of the Bundeswehr and NATO reveal the main features of the war doctrine:

"Concept of War"

As in former times, the reactionary German high command has fully grasped the theory of the features and aims of a future war. Possible modes of war have been planned and the progress of the war has been classified in advance. This is the military theory from which the basic ideas of military planning and practice arise. The deputy chief of staff of the NATO European high command Count Baudissin, itemized in a study of the four features of the concept of war:

"Technology"—the results of the technical revolution must be utilized to the full for strengthening military power and special emphasis must be laid on a further development of weapons of mass destruction;

"Philosophy"—according to which psychological warfare is to be used in peace times in the form of violent anti-communism in order to eliminate all forces resisting the unleashing of war at an early stage.

"World-wide Concept"—extension of West German influence within the military coalition and orientation towards a total war embracing all continents.

"Totality"—all the potentials of their own country and the NATO partners must be used in this war and be completely exploited.

These features named by Baudissin prompt him to the conclusion that the Federal Republic must involve "its entire personnel and material resources" in case of war. "The total political permeation of daily life raises the war condition to permanency". (W. von Baudissin "The Concept of War", *Wissenschaftliche Rundschau*, Frankfurt-on-Main, 1962, No. 7)

"Forward Strategy"

The theory of forward strategy, which is a development of Hitler's Blitzkrieg idea, contains the principles and factors of planning for a series of variants of aggression in Middle and Eastern Europe. Its decisive factor is a preventative and surprise atomic offensive. From this forward strategy follows the present method of command of the Bundeswehr: All military forces and means are to be kept at the ready at all times. General Graf Baudissin formulates it thus:

"Mobilizations lasting days and weeks are outdated; a modern fighting unit must be constantly 'on the ready' with personnel and equipment." (W. von Baudissin, "The Concept of War", loc. cit.)

The forward strategy provides for several stages and kinds of escalation. Its centre-piece however, is rocket-nuclear war and the early deployment of atomic field weapons. Ministerial Counsellor Seemann from the Federal Chancellory demands that

"an atomic war of extermination should be made the basis of total military preparations by the government leadership. All military measures must be reconsidered from the viewpoint of a war of extermination". (K. Seemann "Land Defence of the Federal Republic of Germany as an Organizational Problem", *Wehrkunde*, Munich, 1966, No. 5)

"Total Defence"

In essence the theory of total defence is nothing but a development of the theories of total war formulated by Ludendorff and Hitler and adapted to present day political and military aims. Using this theory the government and the Bundeswehr command demand the preparation of their armed forces in cooperation with NATO in a long term and universal manner for all types of warfare; beyond this they want to extend such preparation to the whole country. The theory of defence is based on the very up-to-date assumption that

"with partnership in NATO ... for the first time in German military history an entirely new factor has influenced the military leadership—namely: military integration. (U. de Maizière, *Die Landesverteidigung im Rahmen der Gesamtverteidigung*, Hamburg, 1964)

The leading military clique uses this theory to attempt the exploitation not only of the military but also the economic potential of the European NATO partners for its own ends.

This war doctrine today determines the militarization of wide areas of government, economic and cultural life, of science and technology in West Germany. It is a definite military pattern of thinking and planning. The streamlining of the doctrine of war coincides with the basically completed build-up of the Bundeswehr and the establishment of the Kiesinger/Strauss government. In the theoretical direction of the Bundeswehr the new government finds the staged program of revenge on which its own policy is based. Concrete military measures show how this doctrine of war is implemented in practice.

The principle of forward strategy is manifested for example in the re-disposition of Bundeswehr and NATO units directly on the borders with the GDR and Czechoslovakia. The advance units of the 1st, 2nd, 4th and 6th tank guard divisions as well as the 3rd tank-divisions of the Bundeswehr are as a rule stationed only 10 to 40 kilometres from the state boundaries of the GDR. The new positions taken up by the 24th mountain tank brigade are situated 100 to 150 kilometres further to the East than the previous garrisons, directly on the frontier of Czechoslovakia. Troops of the 12th tank division

have also been advanced towards the frontier of the GDR. According to the forward strategy, at the start of aggression an advance should be gained in mobilizing the fighting force which should lead to a gain of operative initiative. The army service regulation 100/1 illustrates this:

"Whoever clearly recognizes the requirements of a future war and draws from it the necessary conclusions in all areas and implements them, gains from the very start a decisive advantage." (*Wehrtechnische Monatshefte*, Frankfurt-on-Main, No. 5/6, 1965)

After the establishment of the Kiesinger/Strauss government the reactionary military publicist Adalbert Weinstein strengthened this theory even further:

"Whoever is of the opinion that the best forward defence is a foreign policy, which pushes its position ahead towards the East, will not allow the military instrument to become blunted. He will place it in a new perspective." (*Frankfurter Allgemeine*, 9 February 1967)

"Escalation"

The escalation theory has found a way into the doctrine of war of the forward strategy as an important factor. It is the military counterpart of the illusory policy of Kiesinger/Strauss, with which they hope to be able to isolate the GDR from the powerful association of socialist countries. Under the cover of a deterrent action the military attack is to be prepared so perfectly and without any loopholes that a gradual smooth transition from peace to war will be possible. Such a transition includes the most varied kinds of small and large military provocations.

In the theory of escalation the command of the Bundeswehr has evolved the combination and timed staging of three types of warfare: sub-limited war, limited war (with or without use of tactical atomic weapons) and total thermonuclear war. Baudissin already stated at the end of 1962 that the cold war in Europe had become a normal condition, that the subversive war is developing into a regular instance on the use of military power which can be intensified to an open intervention, and that the non-atomic war which can only be visualized for a limited period of time as a subsidiary action will develop into an atomic war. (W. von Baudissin "Das Kriegsbild", loc. cit.)

The subversive or sub-limited war belongs to the most important machinations of the Bundeswehr and its clique of generals for military actions against the GDR. An authorized publication of the Bundeswehr command in this connection makes the following statement:

"The sub-limited struggle is a violent conflict between irregular forces and the legal government forces. The attack is prepared from outside—as far as possible it should not be recognizable—and is carried out according to a definite plan of operation. The aim of the attack

consists in undermining the legal government and if possible in its fall." K. Wolff/R. Günter/G. Moritz, "The sub-limited war", special number of *Wehrausbildung in Wort und Bild*, Bonn)

The Bundeswehr Colonel Roth, detailed the relationship between a time of tension, provocation of a war incident and escalation to a war:

"Deliberate or careless provocation is the spark that lights the powder keg of escalation . . . Measures taken by the political leadership would have to increase tension above all with regard to third parties and with military means, if they are to be accompanied with an offensive foreign policy aimed at changing the status quo." (*Wehrwissenschaftliche Rundschau*, Frankfurt-on-Main, 1965, No. 10)

For these kinds of provocations the same Colonel Roth suggests a whole host of measures:

"Limited deployment of fighting forces: This could comprise air reconnaissance over the air space of another country, local deployment of forces for the settling of border disputes, deployment of fighting forces outside one's own territory." (*Wehrwissenschaftliche Rundschau*, Frankfurt-on-Main, 1964, No. 11)

The West German war doctrine is the military theoretical side of the concept of the formed society. Because it stems from the reactionary German generals it is as brutal as it is risky. In this doctrine the ruling forces of West German monopoly capital think they have discovered a means by which to solve the growing contradiction of their system through military force.

STRANGULATION OF CIVILIAN LIFE

The totality principle of the war doctrine explains the internal political function of the Bundeswehr. In the emergency laws debate of the Bundestag in July 1965, the then war minister von Hassel stated that the Bundeswehr was not able to "carry out its fighting tasks if no measures were taken to ensure an appropriate stability within the country". More concretely:

"A population left to its own devices, having already due to rumours embarked on a wild evacuation causing panic and releasing uncontrollable mass reactions, can create conditions which make any military operation impossible." (*Bulletin des Presse- und Informationsamtes der Bundesregierung*, Bonn, 26 July 1965)

One of the leading West German theoreticians for the so-called conduct of battle on the internal front, Wilhelm Ritter von Schramm, explained the concept which formed the basis of war minister von Hassel's statement, in the following way:

"In the present situation it is certainly the internal unrest, sabotage and civil war type conflicts, that is, local disturbances in their broadest sense, which under certain circumstances could most of all endanger the Eastern borders of the NATO bloc." (W. Ritter von Schramm,

"The Territorial Defence of the Federal Republic and the Strengthening of NATO", *Der deutsche Soldat*, Flensburg, 1961, No. 9)

According to Schramm, however, this would not take place as long as the economic boom continued in the Federal Republic. The situation could change if a crisis occurred or if it should come to large-scale unemployment. For the all-round safeguarding of surprise NATO operations, therefore, there should be no areas without any troops at all. For this reason the territorial fighting force and civil defence would have to be developed quickly in order to safeguard the security of NATO in its Eastern front and operation areas.

The function of the Bundeswehr is to this extent a two-fold one: to safeguard external expansionist aims it undertakes internally with a system of keeping the population down, an important function of assisting in the strangulation of any civilian democratic endeavour. Wherever the citizen does not voluntarily knuckle under to the "formed" society, he can always be nudged along by bayonet or military tribunal. The concept of the Kiesinger/Strauss government and the Bundeswehr command for the internal use of the armed forces rests on two pillars.

The Emergency Constitution

The newly appointed inspector general of the Bundeswehr, General de Maizière had tabled his requirements in good time; he demanded that

"the fundamental rights contained in the Basic Law should be curtailed or annulled." (U. de Maizière, *Die Landesverteidigung im Rahmen der Gesamtverteidigung*, Hamburg, 1964)

The mandatory powers of the military dictatorship of the Bundeswehr and parliamentary forces are set out in detail in the emergency laws, in the simple emergency regulations and in approximately 60 secret emergency laws of the federal government. When the emergency laws were tabled at the Bundestag a West German paper wrote:

"The draft of the committee enables the executive to deploy the armed Bundeswehr inside the country and to misuse it for internal political aims—without having obtained the sanction of parliamentary authority. The armed forces may not only be deployed for police tasks, but also internally 'with weapons'. The decision rests with the federal government because if such an action becomes topical it is always possible to say that 'the situation required this sort of immediate action'." (*Frankfurter Rundschau*, 26 April 1965)

It must be added that as far back as August 1965 and without much ado the

"Law concerning application of direct force and the carrying out of special duties by soldiers of the Bundeswehr and civilian soldier guards" had been passed.

The Territorial Army

The deployment of the territorial forces of the Bundeswehr is in essence derived from the military leadership of the emergency dictatorship. According to the instructions of the command headquarters of the Bundeswehr, the territorial army in cooperation with the forces assigned to it from "civil defence" have the following main duties:

1. the maintenance of government and state order—in other words the military safeguarding of the emergency dictatorship;
2. the organizational and military preparation of the Federal Republic as the starting point of possible operational attacks;
3. the safeguarding of operational freedom and strategic measures of all NATO fighting forces on West German territory.

A confidential study of the Bundeswehr command shows how, under cover of defence against "subversive fighting methods", a system of measures for the destruction of any opposing democratic movement is completed:

- "1. The cooperation of civil and military authorities (Bundeswehr and NATO) in peace and war
 - for the demarcation of competence,
 - for the intensification of security,
 - for joint assessment of experiences gained and working out of an evaluation of the situation,
 - for synchronization of security plans.

"2. The regional structuring of territorial defence with regions representing the lowest unit. The joining of several regions into regional groups which complement each other, in order to isolate the enemy in the regions and to catch him out. It is necessary to be able to move reserves and aid fast. The resistance capacity of the BRD must be guaranteed from below (communities, regions, etc.).

"3. The training of provincial police, border guards and the Bundeswehr including the TV (Territorial Defence) for defence against actions of sabotage in which psychological factors must be specially taken into account...

"4. Training and counselling of persons in key positions of industry and administration. Cell organization to strengthen internal security in the factories. Observation and factory guards to prevent sabotage.

"5. Development of civil defence forces to relieve police and territorial defence.

"6. Development of a network of civil messenger services with reinforcement points and signalling locations (use of civilian cars) in case of destruction of telephone communications.

"7. Training of home guards in the communities as a check and defence against subversive forces, for the securing of living conditions and as a protection against attacks and sabotage."

THE ACTION-TEST

The theory of escalation in the system of the West German war doctrine was truly reflected in two large manoeuvres. The NATO command headquarters exercise "Fallex 66" from 12 to 28 October 1966, and the NATO manoeuvres "Panthersprung" which mobilized 50,000 soldiers from 16 to 18 January 1967, were an action test for the federal government and the high command.

In "Fallex 66"

the following phases of escalation could be recognized:

1st phase: political tension and its heating up.

The simulation of political tensions has become the elixir of life for German monopoly capitalism. A West German paper commented at the beginning of "Fallex 66" (i.e., "Case X" or calculated war) in the following manner:

"Almost all military plans are based on the assumption that prior to the breakout of open hostilities between East and West there will be a more or less prolonged period of tension." (*Handelsblatt*, Düsseldorf, 15 October 1966)

Escalation only flourishes in areas of political tension:

"To live safely in the age of the atom means preparedness and readiness to live dangerously." (*Wehrkunde*, Munich, 1964, No. 5)

2nd phase: Border provocations increased with military means to local border violations, with members of the allied NATO forces (stationed in West Germany) involved to release the mechanism of deployment of nuclear weapons.

A border provocation actually took place at the Elbe on 18 December 1966 during the manoeuvre. Several boats of West German frontier officials forcibly entered sovereign territory of the GDR in the area of Lenzen-Dömitz. Helicopters hovered over the boats and motorized units of the Bundeswehr covered the river coastline. The NATO partner was involved in the adventure through the participation of British army officers stationed in West Germany.

From the border incident the "assumption of a military threat" could be deduced. Immediately by a transition to the "emergency dictatorship" military action against the GDR was released in the course of the manoeuvre.

The arbitrary "assumption of military threat" has always served German militarism as a propaganda smoke-screen for its aggressive wars and this fiction was again used back in 1962 for a German great-power policy move when the government explained its "emergency legislation" to alter the Constitution. According to this the threat from outside can be established: "if on the basis of intelligence or other previously proven reliable secret sources, an armed attack by a foreign state or

government against federal territory seems imminent, or if such an event must at least be seriously considered." (*Drucksache 345/62 des Bundesrates*, Bonn, 9 December 1962)

The grave risk inherent in this policy is ignored by the military command of the Federal Republic without any compunctions or inhibitions.

3rd phase: Quick power of disposition over the nuclear rocket weapons stored in the Bundeswehr depots, in order to escalate the border conflict to atomic blackmail.

4th phase: Transition to total war using atomic weapons.

In working out exercise "Fallex 66" the Bundeswehr command started with the assumption that the NATO partner would come in with atomic weapons. Federal Minister Paul Lücke actually dared to declare on West German television on 15 October 1966 that the chance of survival would be even less for some parts of the population if these weapons could not be used. The transition to atomic warfare took place very quickly. The experience of "Fallex 66" made it quite clear that the spiritual fathers of the doctrine of war wish to keep the atomic threshold as low as possible.

"Of course, painful losses were ranged against the sandbox successes. The provisional capital Bonn disappeared in an explosive cloud . . . but the government had worked—and survived." (*Die Welt*, Hamburg, 27 October 1966)

Thus "Fallex 66" disturbed the fundamental problem of European security. Understandably even the NATO partners of the Federal Republic reacted with reserve or mistrust. The then war minister von Hassel asserted that NATO had supplied the script for the sequence of the manoeuvres. But in reality the Bundeswehr command had pushed through its own version against other concepts of the allies. Covered by General Baudissin, chief of planning of the NATO European high command and by General Graf Kielmansegg, chief of NATO Middle European command, Major General Schindler had set the clock at five minutes to 12 in the secret headquarters of studies and exercises of the Bundeswehr in Bensberg.

"Panthersprung"

was the second test with a participation of 50,000 soldiers including 5,000 men of the reserve, so far the largest manoeuvre of the Federal Republic.

Along with tank guard divisions, tank divisions, paratroops and territorial troops of the Bundeswehr the following participated:

one American tank brigade of the 3rd US tank division from its base in Gelnhausen;

the 16th French tank artillery battalion from its base in Wittlich;

a Belgian tank reconnaissance battalion from its base in Arolsen.

According to the report of the manoeuvre chief Lieutenant General Schnez, commander of the 3rd army corps of the Bundeswehr, the following three aims were pursued in "Panthersprung":

- "1. testing the mobility of the troops,
- "2. utilization of the third dimension, i.e., cooperation of army and air force,
- "3. testing cooperation within NATO down to company level." (*Die Welt*, Hamburg, 19 January 1967)

According to the press agency DPA, 16 January 1967, the Bundeswehr generals made use of nuclear arms on the first day. On the last day of the manoeuvre the command once more ordered four atomic blows.

"The 'Panthersprung' manoeuvre was as realistic as conditions would admit." (*Die Welt*, Hamburg, 23 January 1967)

In this way the "Panthersprung" manoeuvre also proved to be a demonstration of the West German war doctrine:

1. Apart from the Bundeswehr, the armed forces of three other NATO states participated in the campaign; their supreme commander, however, was a West German general originating from the school of the Hitler general staff. This symbolizes the growing influence which the Bundeswehr has won in the most important section of NATO in Central Europe. Bundeswehr General Count Kielmansegg is in command of the 416,000 men of that section, comprising troops of the USA, Great Britain, Belgium, Luxemburg, Canada and the Netherlands. It is planned that one of the manoeuvre commanders, Brigadier General Drews, will in the near future take over the function of head of the department of basic matters and planning in the integrated staff of the NATO military committee in Washington.

2. Again, as in the undertaking "Fallex 66", nuclear arms were used from a very early stage on the basis of the forward strategy. Yet the situation was extremely tense. The Bundeswehr general staff outplayed the NATO partners: reversing political conditions they started from the presumption that the West German troops had already been given control over nuclear ammunition. They ruthlessly exploded such ammunition in order to confront their allies with accomplished facts.

3. The "world dimensions" and "totality" of the strategic conception was illustrated by a newspaper report:

"The aircraft for air support always started from American bases in Portugal, Spain and England." (*Frankfurter Allgemeine*, 19 January 1967)

4. Once again a reactionary German general proved incapable of a realistic assessment of the military and political situation. Lieutenant General Schnez, who was among other things commander of the transport system of the southern army group in Italy in 1944, had returned as a beaten man from the war. Yet in continuation of fatal traditions he fell back into the old termi-

nology of the Hitler war communiqués in his estimation of "Panthersprung":

"Perhaps it is a daring statement to make, but this exercise has shown that the German army, 10 years after its reestablishment, is once more in a position to conduct a tactical and operatively mobile defensive battle." (*Die Welt*, Hamburg, 19 January 1967)

THE DEVIL'S GENERALS

"At the end of the consultation I asked the High Commissioners to consider the following: each army has its own methods; this applies in particular to the Russians. However, up to the present neither an American, nor a French, nor a British general had fought against the Russians. The German generals were experienced in that respect. I asked that it be considered whether it would not be useful if those experts with their experienced judgment were to be consulted by the responsible military authorities of the western allies.

"The High Commissioners promised to consider this proposal. They intended to pass it on to General Eisenhower, the commander-in-chief of the Atlantic forces in Europe." (K. Adenauer in *Erinnerungen*, Stuttgart, 1965, p. 453, reminiscences of his consultations with the High Commissioners on 5 April 1951 on the military situation)

That was the first hour of the official rehabilitation of the guiltladen generals of Hitler's Wehrmacht. Today the West German generals and staff officers almost without exception belong to that fieldgrey corps which originated from the Greater German general staff. A number of them belonged to the operational department of the high command of the army, or to the general staff of an army group. Another section of these generals came from Hitler's elite units—the air force, parachute troops, the submarine fleet and the tank corps. For the overwhelming majority of them their career has this significance: they had made it during the last years or during the last fatal hours of the Second World War and thus proved to be the most loyal executors of Hitler's commands. They were in the truest sense of the term the devil's generals.

Their first generation—war criminals Speidel, Heu-

singer, and Trettner who had undertaken the first advances towards renewed power—has meanwhile retired. They were followed by a swarm of younger staff officers, all of whom are still able to rely on "experience in the fight against the Russians".

"Who produces the spirit of the Bundeswehr? Let us suppose the clinically healthy generals, who had once ordered troops into fire for a mentally diseased mass murderer, have been banished to the park-benches of our inland health resorts on account of their age. Who comes after them? The active lieutenant of the Führer may today be a colonel. The former colonel has become a general. The cadet captain is a major, etc. They train, they command, they represent, they educate . . ." (*Quick*, Munich, 21 July 1963)

In the establishment of the Bundeswehr these exclusive gentlemen of the leadership of the fascist Wehrmacht were recalled for duty. Without doubt

"in the Federal Republic use has been made of the old experts, who in their social biography do not differ greatly from the traditional German officers' corps . . . The stability of the Federal Republic appears to have found a certain measure of recognition. Yet the problem remains as to how the military leaders would react if that stability had to be set aside for political experiments accompanied by violent controversies. Would the generals wish to exert political influence and pressure against the rules of democratic fair play for the sake of a stable order? That question must remain open." (*Untersuchung des Soziologischen Seminars der Universität Tübingen*)

The question has long been answered.

The present West German generals, 16 per cent of whom belong to the aristocracy, originate from one of the most reactionary groups of the German bourgeoisie—the officers' caste. They represent an exclusive social group without any democratic traditions, which had always given preference to authoritative forms of government rather than to democratic principles. (Cf. *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 11 March 1965)

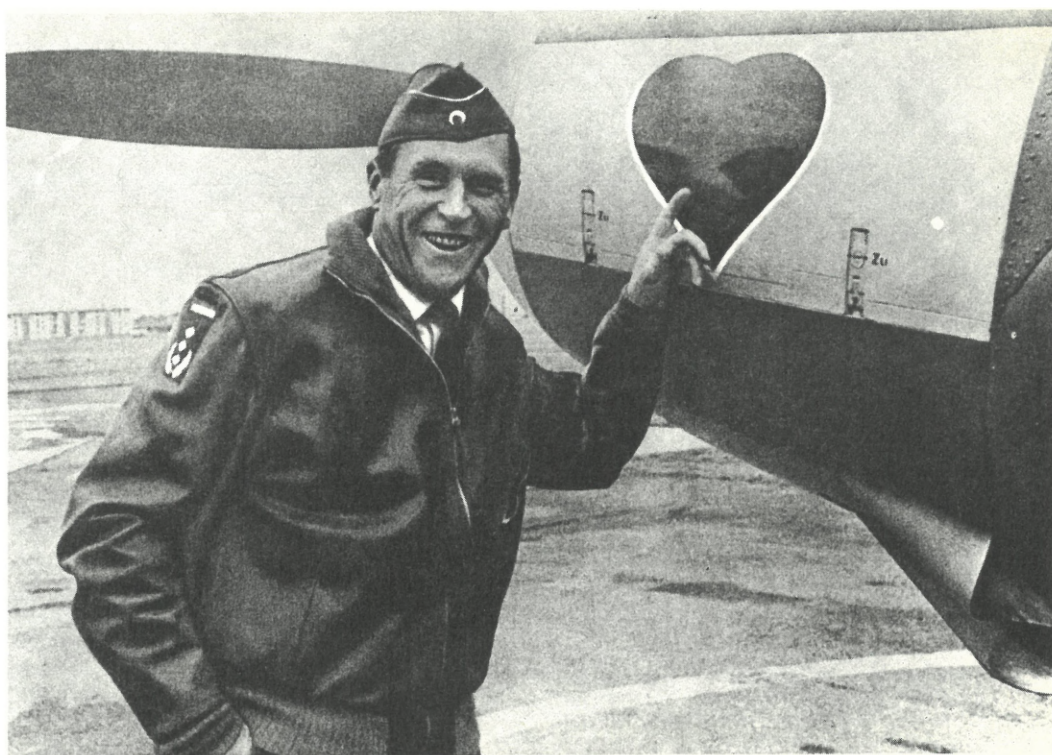
The dangerous fascist and militarist spirit with which the leading generals are polluting the Bundeswehr may be deduced from their past and present activities in the preparations for war.

Maizière, Ulrich de, General
Inspector-General of the Bundeswehr

- 1930 Entered the 5th (Prussian) Infantry Regiment
- 1939 Participated in the attack against Poland as regimental executive officer
- 1940 General staff training at the military school in Dresden
- 1941 Second general staff officer (Ib) of the 18th Infantry Division (mot.), operations in the Soviet Union with the Central and Northern army groups

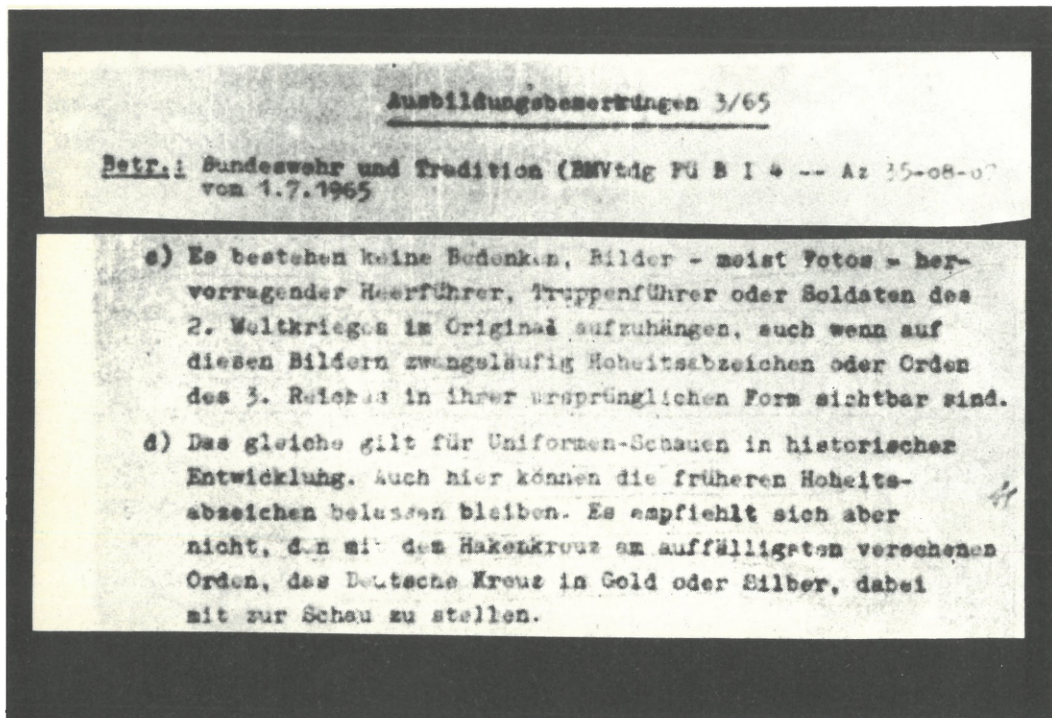
- 1942 Advancement to the rank of a major in the general staff
- 1942/1943 Evaluated the first "eastern experiences" as head of the organizational department of the army general staff under the command of the subsequent Bundeswehr General Mueller-Hillebrand. Advancement to the rank of lieutenant colonel in the general staff
- 1943 First general staff officer (Ia) of the 10th armoured rifle division which participated in a

The West German Bundeswehr (see photo below) today uses the same symbols used by Hitler in his Wehrmacht (see symbol on the door of the motorcar, top photo).



By virtue of a relevant decree under the number "BM VtdgFü B I 4-AZ 35-08-07" of 1 July 1965 (top picture) units of the Bundeswehr are permitted to make use of pictures and other symbols of the fascist Wehrmacht for purposes of "cultivating traditions"—even though they might

display the fascist symbols. The photographs below show the practical effect of that decree in two training centres of the West German Bundeswehr. (See also section "Symbols of Yesterday")



Officers of Hitler's Wehrmacht address members of the West German Bundeswehr on many occasions within the framework of the "cultivation of traditions". This picture shows retired Captain Josef Brandner with a chest full of fascist medals speaking to units of the Bundeswehr at Karlstadt/Main.

By means of characteristic names (see picture below: Tannenberg Barracks) ruling circles in West Germany glorify the "victories" of German militarism—(Tannenberg—today the Polish town of Stebark—was where Hindenburg defeated the Russian troops in August 1914).



The West German magazine "Panorama" uttered words of criticism in regard to the kind of pastoral services in the West German Bundeswehr...

ROLF-ULRICH KAISER

Zum Gebet marsch-marsch!!

Die Bundeswehr kümmert sich
auch um die Seele
der Soldaten — aber wie ...

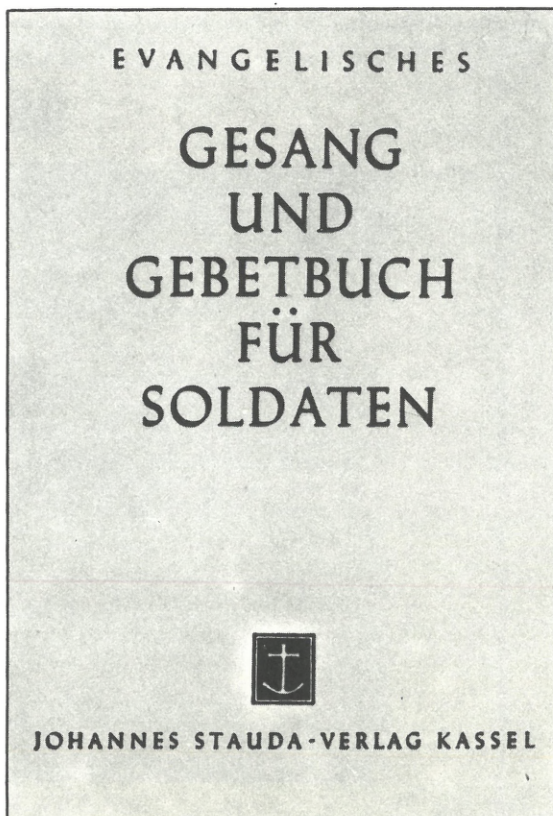


Einmal im Monat: Standortgottesdienst

deutsches panorama

... yet not critical enough to denounce the aggressive aims of the military pastoral service freely expounded by Bundeswehr Bishop Hermann Kunst in his preface to the "Soldiers' Book of Prayer and Song" (see facsimiles). He wrote: "When in 1945 we exchanged our small green field song-book with the familiar one at home, we separated from a tested com-

panion. When everything around us was foreign, the landscape, the people and the language, our homeland was present in our field song-book and in our divine services. "May the new military song-book perform a similar service for us."



DER EVANGELISCHE MILITÄRBISCHOF

Bonn. Advent 1957
Venusbergweg 4

Als wir 1945 unser schmales, grünes Feldgesangbuch mit dem vertrauten Gesangbuch zu Hause vertauschten, trennten wir uns von einem bewährten Begleiter. Als uns draußen alles fremd war, die Landschaft, die Menschen, die Sprache, begegnete uns in unserem Feldgesangbuch, in unseren Gottesdiensten die Heimat.

Den gleichen Dienst möchte uns das neue Militär-gesangbuch tun. Es verbindet uns mit der ganzen Evangelischen Christenheit deutscher Zunge. In kräftiger Verbundenheit mit ihr möchten wir Gott loben und zu Ihm beten.

Laßt Euch Freude machen, den Gottesdienst zu feiern, so oft Ihr Gelegenheit habt. Wir sind Gott diesen Dienst als ersten schuldig. Der Segen daraus wird Euch wie ein guter Engel durch die ganze Woche begleiten. Feiert das Hl. Abendmahl, so oft es Euch angeboten wird. Je verantwortungsvoller unser Leben wird, desto fleißiger müssen wir Gottes Gaben gebrauchen. Vor allem aber betet! „Das Gebet des Gerechten vermag viel, wenn es ernstlich ist.“ Beginnt keinen Tag, ohne Euch dem treuen Geleit Gottes befohlen zu haben. Schließt

keinen Tag, ohne den Herrn Christus um Vergebung gebeten zu haben. Betet für die Eurtigen zu Hause, betet für die Kameraden und betet für unser geliebtes Volk in West und Ost und für seine Wiedervereinigung. Faltet Eure Hände ohne jeden Zweifel mit getrostem Glauben. Gottes Wort lügt nicht. Es tut genau das, was es sagt. Eine Hilfe wollen Euch die Gebete im III. Teile des Gesangbuches sein. Aber auch eine Reihe von Liedern können uns als Gebete dienen und uns vor der Verkümmernng unseres Gebetslebens bewahren.

Im II. und V. Teil findet Ihr Worte der Hl. Schrift und Psalmen. Nehmt für jeden Tag ein Wort und bedenkt und bewegt es so lange, bis es Euch wie ein Licht für den ganzen Tag geworden ist. Und dann geht in Euren Dienst und macht erkennbar, wie es aussieht, wenn unser Herr Christus einen Menschen regiert. Unser Glaube taugt nur so viel, als wir ihn im Dienste bewähren.

Seid dabei gewiß:

„Gottes Barmherzigkeit hat noch kein Ende, sondern sie ist alle Morgen neu und Seine Treue ist groß“!

Der Herr sei mit Euch!

D. HERMANN KUNST

Fascist war literature and West German war literature are as alike as two peas in a pod. In 1941 the heading was: "Forward, ever forward!" And in 1967 it is: "Course on Stalingrad". In 1940 it was: "Tanks heading seaward". In 1967 it is: "Armoured reconnaissance ahead!" In 1940: "Fighting enemy tanks",

In 1967: "Anti-aircraft storm in Hungary", In 1940: "Three times over London", In 1967: "Turbos sweep across England". Four examples characteristic of the content of a whole genre of printed publications today occupying a firm and extensive place on the West German book market.

1941



1967



1940



1967



1940



1967



1940



1967





Former Hitler officers and the Bundeswehr work hand in hand. The picture above shows Bundeswehr officers as guests of honour at a meeting of the SS successor organization HIAG, the photograph left was taken on the occasion of a "routine exchange of views" between Bundeswehr Lieutenant Colonel Stamm and ex-SS General Paul Hausser (right).

large-scale operation against partisans in the Orel area from May to June:

"The named units operated with the utmost brutality against partisan districts, encircled the villages and forest regions, drove out the inhabitants and razed entire localities to the ground." (H. Kühnrich, *Der Partisanenkrieg*, p. 317)

- 1944 Detached to the "Führer reserve" of the army high command
- 1945 Nomination as first general staff officer (Ia) in the operational department of the army high command
Detached to the Führerbunker of the Reich chancellery, was in charge of the operational efficiency of the fortified command of Hitler, Bormann and Goebbels and presented the "position reports"
- 1945 Appointment as colonel in the general staff detached for service with Hitler's successor, Admiral of the Fleet Dönitz, whose headquarters were in Schleswig-Holstein. First general staff officer (Ia) of the army operational department. Among those responsible for the intrigues of war criminal Dönitz in the separatist talks with the British and American high command
- 1951 Appointed to the Blank Office—the precursor of the West German War Ministry—by war criminals Heusinger and Speidel
- 1955 Advancement to the rank of colonel in the Bundeswehr and appointment as chief of national defence policy
- 1956 Advancement to the rank of brigadier-general
- 1958 Commander of fighting group A I
- 1959 Deputy commander of the 1st armoured rifle division
- 1960 Commander of the Bundeswehr school for internal leadership
- 1962 Advancement to the rank of major-general
Commander of the Bundeswehr leadership academy in Hamburg-Blankenese
That academy headed by Hitler's general staff officers trains the leading cadres of the Bundeswehr:
"So far 900 German general staff officers have been trained." (*Wehrpolitische Information*, Cologne, 13 January 1967)
- 1964 Advancement to the rank of lieutenant-general and appointment as inspector of the Bundeswehr army
An outline of his concept of military policy:
"A political and military threat today could only come from the east. The basic features of all defence planning should therefore be directed towards the defence against an attack by the Soviet Union and its satellites...
"A quick decision by the political leadership of NATO on the release of nuclear warheads

could be significant in regard to a speedy defence success... A quick war decision should thus be the aim. Provision for a war of longer duration should nevertheless be ensured." (U. de Maizière, *Die Landesverteidigung im Rahmen der Gesamtverteidigung*, Hamburg, 1964)

- 1966 Advancement to the rank of four-star-general and appointment as Inspector General of the Bundeswehr

Moll, Josef, lieutenant-general
Inspector of the Army

- 1926 Entered the provincial police of Württemberg
- 1935 Delegated to the 15th infantry regiment as first lieutenant
After troop service, general staff training at the military academy
- 1939 Fought on nearly all battlefields of the Second World War, among other things 1st general staff officer (Ia) of the army group C in the attack against the Soviet Union
- 1945 Advancement to the rank of colonel in the general staff on 20 April—after 1945 independent employer
- 1957 Admission to the Bundeswehr, at first holding office at the War Ministry, later commander of an armoured rifle division
- 1965 Advancement to the rank of major-general and appointment as deputy inspector of the army
- 1966 Advancement to the rank of lieutenant-general and appointment as inspector of the army
"Moll is one of the co-authors of the Memorandum drawn up in the middle of last June (1965—editor) by his past and present immediate superior, Inspector General Ulrich de Maizière, on the 'Conception of the Army'.
"Perhaps Moll's style of leadership may differ somewhat from that of his precursors. He admits that during the African campaign under General Fieldmarshal Rommel he had learned to lead from the front-lines...
"And he points out that the generals and the chiefs of staff of the Bundeswehr... should fulfil the political mission and provide the responsible state leadership with the necessary means to this end." (*Die Welt*, Hamburg, 9 September 1966)

Steinhoff, Johannes, lieutenant-general
Inspector of the Air Force

- 1934 Officer cadet in the navy
- 1935 Training for the naval air force
- 1936 Transfer to the air force as lieutenant
- 1943 Commodore of fighter squadron 77

- 1944 Decoration by Hitler with the "Oakleaves and Swords of the Knight's Cross"
Advancement to the rank of colonel
- 1945 Appointment as commodore of the 1st jet fighter squadron, the establishment of which was not completed
- 1952 Prisoner of war
- 1952 Advertising agent in Munich
- 1952 Appointment to the Blank Office
- 1955 Entrance into the West German air force with the rank of a colonel
Training in the USA as jet fighter pilot
- 1960 Planning chief with the war ministry
- 1960 Chief of planning in the air force
- 1963 West German representative at the NATO military committee in Washington
- 1963 Commander of military services
- 1965 Advancement to the rank of lieutenant-general
Chief of staff at the headquarters of the Central European NATO air forces
- 1966 Inspector of the air force

Zenker, Karl-Adolf, Vice-Admiral
Inspector of the Navy

He is the third generation of admirals provided to the reactionary German naval command by the Zenker family; his grandfather had been an imperial admiral; his father was chief of the naval command of the Reichswehr and thus predecessor of the war criminal Raeder

1939– As 3rd admiralty staff officer on the staff of the 1941 west and north naval troop commands, he was a collaborator in establishing the plans for attack against Denmark, Norway and the Netherlands and for mine-warfare in the North Sea

1944 Head of the operational department of the naval war command

1951 Appointed head of the naval department in the Blank Office, responsible participation in the establishment of a new naval force

1954 His conception of modern naval warfare:
"Although the Baltic is a marginal sea, it nevertheless extends deep into the region of a possible enemy, constituting an open flank where he remains vulnerable." (*Bulletin des Presse- und Informationsamtes der Bundesregierung*, Bonn, 11 February 1954)

1956 Glorified war criminals Dönitz and Raeder, sentenced at Nuremberg, on the occasion of the admission of recruits in Wilhelmshaven on 16 January:
"Each of us older naval officers knows that the navy has been commanded in a clean, decent and honourable manner... We older men, who served under Admirals of the Fleet Raeder and Dönitz, fought honourably under their command. The sentence of Nuremberg occurred at a time

of confusion—today the admirals of the fleet would no longer be sentenced." (*Leinen los*, Gräfelfing, 1966, No. 2)

- 1961 Inspector of the West German naval force

Übelhack, Friedrich, lieutenant-general
Commander of the Territorial Forces

- 1939– In the staff of the 4th army, participated in the 1940 attacks against Poland and France
- 1941 1st general staff officer (Ia) of the XXXV (alpine) army corps in northern Finland, participated in the attack against the Soviet Union
- 1944 1st general staff officer (Ia) of the 20th army, appointed commander of the Wehrmacht in Norway; in that position he was responsible for planning the withdrawal operations "Birke" and "Nordlicht" following the exit of Finland from the fascist military block; among those responsible for the barbaric destruction perpetrated during those operations in northern Finland and northern Norway
- 1945 Advancement to the rank of colonel in the general staff
- 1947 Leading position in the chemical industry
- 1956 Entrance into the Bundeswehr with the rank of a colonel
- 1959 Commander of the 4th armoured rifle division
- 1960 Major-general
- 1964 Appointment as commander of the territorial forces

Kielmansegg, Johann Adolf Graf von, General
Commander in chief of the NATO armed forces in Central Europe

- 1926 Entry into the 16th cavalry regiment of the Reichswehr
- 1937 Attendance at the military academy in Berlin up to 1939
- 1941 Advancement to the rank of major in the general staff attached to the 6th armoured rifle division
There he wrote the book *Panzer zwischen Warschau und Atlantika* (Tanks between Warsaw and the Atlantic), in which he stated concerning the war in France:
"... in my heart there is only the one thought, that this fight should be the last and most decisive, that the German sword has been drawn to deliver the deadly blow to France." In conclusion he admitted:
"We are filled by the overwhelming awareness that we have participated in this truly historic and decisive fight. We can report that we fulfilled to the last detail the task assigned to us by history, by Germany and by the Führer, and we

can report that we are also ready to fulfil the mission which still remains between us and freedom: the annihilation of England. No recognition, however, could make us feel prouder than that of the Führer." (J. A. Kielmansegg, *Panzer zwischen Warschau und Atlantik*, 1941)

Subsequently participated as 1st general staff officer (Ia) with the 6th armoured rifle division of the northern army group in its unsuccessful advance on Leningrad; author of division command No. 50 of 18 September 1941:

"The fate of Petersburg is sealed and only a matter of time ... to make all endeavours for Führer and fatherland, until the ultimate decision has been won and the future of Germany assured."

1942 1st general staff officer (Ia) in the operations department of the high command of the army

1944 Advancement to the rank of a colonel in the general staff

Under war criminal Heusinger, chief of the operations department of the general staff of the army, author of the collected reports compiled from position reports, which he designated as "secret military document";

"Position on 3. 4. 44 12 noon

I France

... 80 inhabitants shot, 20 arrested ... several stores and houses destroyed, 24 terrorists shot, 107 arrested."

(*Dokument No. NOKW-1557 Cont'D, p. 17*)

"Position on 4. 4. 44 12 noon

I France

Continuation of mopping-up operation department Dordogne, several stores and houses destroyed, 19 terrorists shot, booty of motorcars and arms."

(*Dokument No. NOKW-1557 Cont'D, p. 19*)

"Position on 12. 7. 44 6 a.m. ...

b) Serbia:

In Banat reprisal shooting of 40 Communists."

(*Dokument No. NOKW-1557 Cont'D, p. 34*)

"1. France, position on 13. 7. 44 6 a.m. ...

A.O.K. 1: 18 terrorists shot, extensive booty ...

A.O.K. 19: ... 15 terrorists shot."

(*Dokument No. NOKW-1557 Cont'D, p. 37*)

At the Nuremberg trial of war criminals, SS-general Rode stated as a witness:

"My task consisted in providing the respective higher SS and police leaders with the required forces for combat against gangs and to ensure their support by the armed forces. This was done in direct consultation with the leading officers of the Wehrmacht chief of staff i.e., with Generals Warlimont and von Buttlar, with Marshals Guderian and Zeitzler, General Heusinger, and later General Wenck and Colonel Graf Kielmansegg ..." (*Trial of the Major War Criminals ...*, Vol. IV, Nuremberg 1947, Document US 562)

At the Führer's headquarters during the attempt on his life on 20 July 1944. At 7.40 p.m. received the call by Colonel Kienzl, chief of the security department for "foreign armies east"; told him that the orders issued by General Beck, one of the rebels against Hitler, were not to be executed. (Cf. E. Zeller, *Geist der Freiheit und die Zeit*, Hamburg 21 July 1949)

1950 Admission to the Blank Office as head of the department for "General Questions of National Defence"

1955 Advancement to the rank of brigadier general and appointment as head of the coordination centre for military planning between the Bundeswehr and the NATO headquarters in Paris

1958 Deputy commander of the 5th tank division

1960 Commander of the 10th armoured rifle division

1961 Advancement to the rank of major-general

1963 Advancement to the rank of lieutenant-general

1964 Advancement to the rank of a four-star general and appointment as commander of the NATO land forces in Central Europe

1966 Commander in chief of all the armed forces of NATO in Central Europe.

THE SEEDS OF VIOLENCE

"Since the young officers are looking for an example and can be convinced, the quality of their commanders is decisive for them. Conversation with the lieutenants will soon establish the stuff of which their commander is made." (*Die Welt*, Hamburg, 17 September 1963)

The commanders are qualified as standard bearers of the fascist Wehrmacht. It is no wonder therefore that the reporter of a West German illustrated magazine should give an account of the following episode:

"I overheard a conversation about Peter Weiss' play dealing with the Auschwitz trial. A lieutenant had seen

it in Munich and was obviously not very enthusiastic ... 'That sort of thing should be prohibited', said the theatre-goer, angrily, 'the purest communist propaganda'."

Where is such hatred of communism leading? The reporter continued:

"The supposed adversary of the Bundeswehr is in the east and the whole process of training and education of the soldier is orientated in that direction. 'Would you fire on Germans?' we asked the lieutenants wherever we met them ... They would all do so without exception, all-German sentimentality is alien to them. Here are few of their answers: 'Yes. You might just as well ask me whether I would shoot at members of any other nation.'"

Or: 'Of course! Is a German worth more than a Russian or a Frenchman?' (Der Stern, Hamburg, 13 March 1966)

Like the commanders, like the young officers, thus the influence is passed on to the recruits. Day by day the young soldiers of the Bundeswehr are washed by the dirty flood of a propaganda of hatred not even surpassed by that of the *Stürmer* days. The following incidents were revealed by a reliable source: at the "Deutsches Eck" in Coblenz, the commander of the local defence area command Brigadier General Gerlach von Gau-decker, said during the admission of new recruits:

"From here the German order of knights has carried the free culture of the occident to the east of our fatherland since the Middle Ages."

On another similar occasion the commander of the tank artillery battalion of Idar-Oberstein, Lieutenant-Colonel Leggewie made a speech which culminated in the demand, to courageously encounter today "the storm of conquest from the east, which had been carried forward centuries ago by Huns, Hungarians and Turks". Soldiers should be prepared for a "sacred war". Lieutenant-Colonel Freiherr von Cramm, commander of the tank reconnaissance battalion 2 in Hessisch-Lichtenau, promised his young recruits when they were sworn in:

"My dear young soldiers! Dear Comrades in arms! I have learned to lead and I shall lead you even into death!"

In similar words the commander of the heavy pioneer battalion 717, Lieutenant-Colonel Becher encouraged the new recruits to national defence:

"We should not act according to the motto 'rather red than dead', but our motto should be 'rather dead than red.'"

First Lieutenant Hospach of the alpine pioneer battalion at Degerndorf took up that idea in a way characteristic for the Bonn era in a treatise:

"The primary demand must be to put a stop to the practice of throwing out the baby with the bath-water, i.e., to condemn everything achieved by German soldiers up to 1945 and on principle to strive to do everything in a different way. The training methods of the Wehrmacht, after all, brought forth the best soldiers of the Second World War."

Hospach published his treatise in the June 1964 edition of the paper *Die Bundeswehr*. Sixteen younger officers replied to him. Only three of them contradicted and at that only to a limited extent.

First Lieutenant Bemischke has a regular motto for instructions to the armoured rifle battalion 53:

"The old German frontiers must be restored. Germany includes the Memel area and Pomerania."

Captain Schubert, company commander of the signal battalion of Clausthal-Zellerfeld presented the following picture of the situation to his soldiers:

"As far as I am concerned, it could begin tomorrow. In one day we should be in Leipzig and by night-time I would already be sleeping on the stairs of the central railway station."

During an instruction exercise, Captain Ott of armoured rifle brigade 13 boasted before his soldiers:

"If it were up to me, we could break down the wall in Berlin. You have in the meantime learned enough from me that I would risk a break-through. And I am sure I could rely on you."

The anti-communist and revanchist pollution inevitably enters the immediate practice of military service.

Grenadier Bernard, of armoured rifle training battalion 21 in Langenhagen, Hanover, of the army officers' school I stated that in his unit an alarm for action was issued with the call: "Alarm, the Russians are in front of Brunswick!"

In the action training this is the standard language: "Dig yourself in properly man or the Russian will swat you with a wet rag."

Major Lübbermann, chief of anti-aircraft battery 180 at Lütjenburg, Holstein, stalks across the grounds during exercises, yelling the following slogans:

"Communism is aggressor and world enemy number one!"

"Troublemakers come from the east!"

"The red militarism of the zone!"

Soldiers who objected to this terminology were black-listed as "left-wing" or "reds".

At the end of a shooting exercise on the manoeuvring grounds at Grafenwöhr, Lieutenant Colonel Golnick of alpine tank battalion 244 praised his troops with the words:

"Everyone, from the commander down to the last tank gunner, has shown that they would master even Siberian conditions."

And thus the circle closes, from the revanchist ambitions polished with military science of the high generals in the Bundeswehr command, to the daily stupid incitement of recruits during their drill. The military barracks, the exercising and manoeuvring grounds of the Bundeswehr are the soil of the dragon's seed of violence, anti-communism and revanchism.

Anti-communism today is as much the underlying philosophy of the war ideology of German imperialism as it had been the frontline of propaganda during the Second World War, the veil behind which the Greater German Wehrmacht had prepared the attack against the Soviet Union. Today the main idea of the anti-communist education of the young Bundeswehr soldiers is consistently directed against their "brothers and sisters" in the GDR. Day in and day out it is being hammered into the recruits that the freedom of the western world and the wonderful and happy life in the Federal Republic are threatened by the east. This endless repetition of a worn-out allegation is the only way in which the demand can be maintained that they should prepare for a preventive war. The Inspector General instructed all commanders that:

"the soldiers of the Bundeswehr should know about the threat to our freedom by communist totalitarianism and about the dangers threatening the peoples of the non-

communist world as a result of the communist plans for world conquest." (Information of the Inspector General, Conduct in the struggle with communism, Reg. No. FÜB I 6-Az 35-20-17-03, 22 June 1962)

Images of horror which would do honour to the phantasy of Goebbels are being presented to the soldiers:

"Communism wants to change man. Soviet man is to be a robot without personal worth and thus without freedom and individuality, since this is supposed to save the whole of humanity. Communism thus attacks the foundations of our existence and wants to destroy that which makes our life worth living. In this way it is not only threatening our state and our social order but it is threatening every single one of us in our endeavour to be human: it intends to destroy man as a personality." (Series of publications on interior leadership *Bolschewismus*, 1966, No. 6)

Revanchism as a basic principle in the education of young soldiers inevitably arises from the West German state doctrine. If the claim of Bonn to speak and act in the name of the whole of Germany and the revision of the European frontiers from the focal point of the policy of the Kiesinger/Strauss government, then it is only logical that it is continuously being drummed into the heads of recruits during their drill and instructions which are governed by the principles of interior leadership of the Bundeswehr, that "Germany must never abandon its lost territories" and that everything should be done to reestablish "Germany within the frontiers of 1937". Significantly it was the ministry of war which was the first ministry in Bonn to have issued an instruction to all Bundeswehr authorities at the end of December 1958, about the "designation of the eastern territories". That was also subsequently followed by other West German ministries. The instruction of the war ministry provides that:

"The following definitions and written forms are to be applied in regard to the East German territories . . . For the East German territories beyond the Oder and Neisse: German Reich territory within the frontiers of 31 December 1937 under temporary Polish (or Soviet) administration, or the corresponding short form: Eastern territories of the German Reich (as of 31 December 1937) at the moment under foreign administration."

The corps and divisional press as well as *Information für die Truppe* presented the following variation of this subject:

"Our fatherland is Germany, not only the Federal Republic but also the Soviet zone as well as the territories under Polish administration and the Soviet-annexed region around Königsberg." (*Soldatenkurier*, troop paper of the 5th tank division, Dietz/Lahn, 1 May 1962)

The *Information für die Truppe*, an organ of the Bundeswehr leadership issued a special publication entitled *Die deutschen Ostgebiete* (the Eastern German Territories). A map of Germany with the frontiers of 1937

is to demonstrate to the soldiers that those frontiers are still valid today. The recognition of the Oder-Neisse line is rejected by the paper without much ado by reference to the "old Polish economy", part of the terminology introduced into the language of communication between the German and the Polish people by the East Elbians of the last century:

"Once flourishing stretches of country are situated beyond the Oder-Neisse line which had formerly brought forth a surplus of food for the provision of many millions of people—and which are now in a state of decay. The Polish settlers installed there consider their presence in the Eastern German territories as temporary." (*Information für die Truppe*, special issue "Die deutschen Ostgebiete")

Revanchist ceremonies, customs and symbols are being drilled, day in and day out, often openly and just as often discreetly, into the heart and soul of the recruits, who according to Bonn's law are not even of age.

When the soldiers go out marching they sing so-called songs of the homeland: "Mein Schlesierland" or "Mein Pommernland". And the band plays the "Egerländermarsch".

"East Prussia", "Pomerania", "Silesia", "Brandenburg"—many barracks and military quarters are known by these names. Nearly every Bundeswehr garrison carries on its coat of arms or flags the symbol of these areas lost by the Greater German Reich in the Second World War. Units of the present Bundeswehr have taken over the traditions of former Pomerian, Silesian, or East Prussian regiments.

The 6th tank reconnaissance battalion in Eutin took over the traditions of the former 14th cavalry regiment which was stationed in Ludwigslust.

The barracks and training rooms of this garrison bear names like "Schlesienhalle" and "Haus Egerland".

Tank battalion 153 of the Bundeswehr carries three griffin heads on a blue background in its coat of arms. It is the coat of arms of the town of Pasewalk.

The soldiers are required to make wall illustrations, cards and reliefs of the areas east of the Oder and Neisse in their free time. *Information für die Truppen* gives hints on how to make such cards. Under the caption "A good idea" training company 14/6 in Flensburg received a commendation for its relief-map of Germany:

"This relief has provided 99 towns with lights and switches, in order to bring the soldier closer to his immediate home as well as to Central Germany and the German territory in the East." (*Information für die Truppe*, 1964, No. 5)

The air station in Celle organized an "East German week". On this occasion a large relief depicting the German Reich in the frontier of 1937, was ceremoniously awarded a prize. The federal soldier who made this revanchist show-piece was invited to Bonn by Federal President Lübke.

First Lieutenant Lützenberger of training company 5 of the 10th armoured infantry division, requested the

new recruits fresh from civilian life to decorate the walls of their quarters with pictures of those towns claimed by the federal government. The photo of the towns were always to be combined with displays of weapons.

In the marine underwater weapons school in Eckernförde the following objects and buildings were given names of places in former German territories or places in the GDR:

Dwelling quarters 4 Inspection	"Memel"
Dwelling quarters Fire control	"Pillau"
Dwelling quarters 9 Inspection	"Königsberg"
Dwelling quarters 7 Inspection	"Elbing"
Dwelling quarters Permanent staff	"Danzig"
Dwelling quarters Wireless operators	"Kolberg"
Medical building	"Usedom"
Staff	"Wollin"
Submarine fighting weapons training hall	"Rügen"
Officers' Quarters	"Sassnitz"
Officers' Mess	"Marienburg"

In the Bundeswehr school for logistics in Hamburg, the inspection halls bear the former German names of towns in Poland and the Soviet Union: Küstrin, Königsberg, Tannenberg, Kolberg. On the walls of the lecture rooms there are large photographs of these towns. The initiator of this giving of names is the deputy chief of inspection 6, Major Saffran. He comes from East Prussia and is a member of the Association of East Prussian Fellow Countrymen.

In many garrison towns the departing units march past symbolic signboards. In Itzehoe, for example, there is a street sign on which the distance from the following towns are given together with their former names, Preussisch-Holland, Berlin, Stettin, Danzig, Königsberg, and Breslau.

An official statement of the Bundeswehr leadership shows quite openly the aims of the revanchist manipulation of the West German soldiers:

"No, in this question of German life and destiny complete clarity and frankness are all the more necessary, since in parts of the West and even here "reunification" is understood as the merging of Western and Central Germany. Through insufficient knowledge the first stage, reunion with Central Germany is confused with the final aim which is the united Reich including the German territories in the East." ("Macht und Recht", in *Deutsches Soldatenjahrbuch* 1966)

THE BREEDING OF NEO-FASCISM

In the period of the Third Reich, the so-called national socialist leader-officer was one of the many institutions through which the fatal alliance of the military and the

fascist movement manifested itself. In the Federal Republic, which Chancellor Kiesinger claims is the legal successor of the Third Reich, the merger of the Bundeswehr and the neo-nazi movement is moving at a fast pace. The army which is openly developing revanchism as the spiritual base of its military doctrine, although thereby facing insoluble contradictions due to the basically changed power relations in Europe and Germany since 1945, is throwing itself into the arms of neo-nazism. The interaction between revanchism and fascism which is well known in German history is functioning again. A very close similarity prevails. In the same way that the evil spirit of annexationism swells the wave of nationalism, in the Bundeswehr as well as in the NPD, the neo-nazi movement encourages the adventurist and aggressive ideas of the Bonn general staff and its officer corps.

For some time now the propagandists of the war ministry have been rationalizing the Hitler state:

"The 'Strenght through joy' organization was a progressive social institution for the conditions of the time... the national socialists were also able to show concrete successes... It is apparent that the new national socialist spirit urged large sections of the people to outstanding professional performances for many years... A similar 'hit' was the Volkswagen, an exceptionally far-sighted conception for that time." (*Information für die Truppen*, 1964, No. 8)

It is well known that rabid anti-Semitism is being expressed in the Bundeswehr.

Captain Niemann of the engineer battalion in München-Freiman ordered Lance Corporal Eugen von Elmpt, a man of Jewish origin, to remain at his post as scout wireless operator on a tree in biting cold. Then he abused him in the style of a concentration camp guard:

"You dirty Jewish lout, you don't even deserve to be shot with cat dirt."

The press officer of an American air force unit in Ramstein/Pfalz was characterized by retired air force General Joachim Huth in the following way:

"A typical Jew, when he is thrown out at the front he comes in again at the back."

A West German trade union paper published the scandalous utterances of Bundeswehr martinets during training:

"You desecrator of synagogues!"

"You've got your hat on like a Jew boy!"

At meal time on a manoeuvre, the young lieutenants shouted to each other:

"Pass over a few Jews, the fire is going out"

Another lieutenant:

"If I had had anything to do with it I would have hanged so many Jews along the road that I would have been able to walk from Heuberg to Tel Aviv in the shade!" (*Gewerkschaftszeitung Druck und Papier*, 15 May 1964)

It is the style in training company 2/12 in Wildflecken that the trainers handle the soldiers with anti-Semitic invectives.

Lieutenant Helmut Weiss:

"Quiet here! We are not in a boy's school in Tel Aviv, but in the Bundeswehr."

NCO Lehmann:

"Do you know how the reparation machine works? You stick a piece of soap in at the top, and a Jew comes out at the bottom."

NCO Bernd Guderlei:

"You can't even shoot a Jew with this gun." (*Der Stern*, Hamburg, 22 January 1967)

Both of these non-commissioned officers were later promoted to staff non-commissioned officers.

Reaching for the Youth

For a long time now the so-called youth officers and youth non-commissioned officers have been the extended arm of the Bundeswehr leadership for brain-washing the young generation as they reach recruitment age. It is the main concern of military leaders educated in fascist ideas, who as a natural consequence are creating the organizational contact with the neo-fascist youth organizations:

Members of the Bundeswehr go on regular "outings" with the "Youth League Adler e.V.". On these occasions they use vehicles from their units. The destination of these undertakings are youth hostels, where military and political classes are held.

The "first organization leader of the youth corps 'Scharnhorst' is a captain in the Bundeswehr, who was serving at the army officers' school I in Hanover until a few months ago." (*Hannoversche Presse*, 8 January 1960)

The neo-nazi 'Steuben' youth movement was the guest of rocket artillery battalion 150. Bundeswehr trainers instructed the boys on the "Busting of Soviet tanks". The target was an appropriately marked worn out English tank. Press report:

"Youth from Dinslaken shot at an old English tank while with rocket artillery battalion 150" (*Stern*, Hamburg, 1965 No. 48)

The first NPD district youth group was formed in April 1966 in Oldenburg. A 21-year-old Bundeswehr private was appointed youth adviser to the NPD sub-district group. (*Die Zeit*, Hamburg, 8 April 1966)

At the NPD congress in 1966 in the Schwarzwaldhalle in Karlsruhe, the report on youth questions was presented by Bundeswehr Reserve Lieutenant Peter Lauer under Goebbels' slogan: "public need before private need".

In view of the sharpening political constellation, the youth officers of the Bundeswehr have been trying since the beginning of 1967 to penetrate into state insti-

tutions, schools and colleges, and those youth organizations which have proved immune to the spirit of revanchism and neo-nazism. They are now attempting to extend their influence to the masses of the youth. They are being helped to a greater extent in the accomplishment of their tasks by veterans of the Hitler army who have come together in the traditional military associations, in the "Military Science Society", in the reserve associations of the Bundeswehr and not least in the NPD.

Speaking for the leadership of the Bundeswehr and in pursuance of the totality principle of military doctrine even in peace time, retired Captain Kastellitz demanded that members of political parties, trade unions schools, universities and adult education centres be mobilized as "civilian co-fighters". (*Wehrkunde*, Munich, 1966, No. 3)

At an educational conference of the "Military Science Society" in Wunstorf, Niedersachsen in October 1965 commanders of the Bundeswehr directly attacked the schools: They have "not yet sufficiently undertaken their preparatory role in education for the fulfilment of civic duty in the fields of security and defence." (*Wehrkunde*, Munich, 1966, No. 1)

In the same vein, war criminal Speidel, retired general of the Wehrmacht and Bundeswehr, attacked the West German universities. On the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the Leadership Academy of the Bundeswehr in Hamburg-Blankenese, on 12 January 1967, he gave a ceremonial speech entitled "General Staff and Education". In it he demanded categorically that "the prerequisites for the spiritual defence of the country be created" in the lecture rooms and in student life and that the students deal with military questions under the over-all aspect of theory and research.

The Old Hat: Steel Helmet

For more than 40 years the "Stahlhelm-Bund der Frontsoldaten e.V." has dragged nationalist, military and fascist traditions through changing times. The incidents which occurred in Bergzabern in Rhine-Palatinate are characteristic of its relationship with the Bundeswehr.

On 10 January 1966 a meeting to form a "Stahlhelm" group took place in this garrison town. Among the participants was a large number of soldiers and non-commissioned officers led by a captain from signal battalion 768 by the name of Adalbert Voigt. The leader of the meeting was the active Bundeswehr Sergeant Benitz from the same unit. The main speaker was the former NSDAP district leader and SS man Lemmel, a businessman from Landau/Pfalz. The key sentence which developed quick contact with the meeting was:

"I am a national socialist from way back!" and then he said:

"... the national socialists did not want to oppress other peoples at all; Heinrich Himmler and Leon

Degrelle would have guaranteed that this would not have taken place after a victory." (*Die Welt*, Hamburg, 2 February 1966)

Stahlhelmers and members of the Bundeswehr joined in acclaiming national socialism as a "great historical movement", slandered the resistance fighters against Hitler as "cowardly fellows" and abused authors of progressive television programs as "swine". Approving howls accompanied the songs of praise for the "Führer principle" and the "Front-line race". The leader of the meeting, Sergeant Benitz, thanked the main speaker SS-man Lemmel "for his informative and inspiring words".

The democratic thinking section of the public was most impudently provoked. Sergeant Benitz had to be taken out of the firing line. And the commander of signal battalion 768, Lieutenant Colonel von Hühnerbein remained silent, on orders:

"... the commander of the signal battalion saw no reason to take action against the captain, who had also taken part in the meeting." (*Stuttgarter Zeitung*, 2 February 1966)

However, it quickly became clear that Benitz had only received his walking papers to fool the public and that he could otherwise depend on defence "from the very top".

"A major of the Bundeswehr criticized the expulsion of the sergeant from the Bundeswehr at a meeting of the provincial organization of the "Stahlhelm" in Saar/Pfalz on 16-17 April ... " (*Spandauer Volksblatt*, West Berlin, 6 May 1966)

And for the "Stahlhelm" itself, Sergeant Benitz became a famous star:

"The founding formalities of the local 'Stahlhelm' group were rapidly completed. Benitz became leader, Bundeswehr Staff Sergeant Harald Preis became secretary, Staff Sergeant Wolfram Betzstein treasurer, sports leader was Sergeant Reinhard ... there were no objections ... " (*Der Spiegel*, Hamburg, 7 February 1966)

And now for the justification of these nazi activities in the Bundeswehr by the monopoly press:

"The fact that many members of the Bundeswehr join some such organization as the 'Stahlhelm' in their free time ... is not to be avoided its members of the Bundeswehr enjoy full political rights outside of barracks ... if from the outset one expects deviations to the right from the Bundeswehr, it might be inclined to come up to such expectations out of defiance." (*Frankfurter Allgemeine*, 6 May 1966)

And the then war minister von Hassel in an attempt to pacify said:

"Do not overestimate the 'Stahlhelm'." (*Frankfurter Allgemeine*, 19 May 1966)

Bergzabern is one of 400 garrisons of the Bundeswehr. The "Stahlhelm" has its headquarters in this one:

"One-third of all its members are active or reserve members of the Bundeswehr." (*Die Freiheit*, Mainz, 2 February 1966)

Bundeswehr as Electoral Helper of the NPD

Officers and soldiers are quite openly joining the neo-nazi movement. This became apparent during the 1966 elections when they performed propaganda work or were even nominated as candidates of the NPD, the reservoir of neo-nazi forces.

In Putlos, a Bundeswehr garrison in Schleswig-Holstein, Captain Nietzsche who is stationed there is press officer of the NPD. He is a candidate of this party and became its representative in the Oldenburg town council.

Sergeant-Major Heinz Niggemann of the 7th medical battalion belongs to the top officials of the NPD in Hamm; at the same time he is chairman of the "garrison companion group of the German Bundeswehr Association".

In Calw, staff Sergeant Hugo Bosselmann of the 25th parachute brigade is a candidate for the NPD.

In Roth near Nuremberg, Captain Ulrich Horner became NPD representative of the communal council.

At the Bundeswehr school of logistics in Hamburg, Major Weber makes unhindered propaganda for the NPD of which he is a member.

Major Georg Pemler, Munich, was elected member of the Upper Bavarian district council for the NPD on 20 November 1966.

At the Hessian provincial diet elections on 6 November 1966 Bundeswehr officers Karl-Heinz Lindner and Wolfgang Dulig were candidates for the NPD.

In Neumünster, First Lieutenant Walter Kreikenbohm of the local tank battalion took part in the NPD electoral event with his entire company.

In Hameln, the CDU town councillor and lawyer Dr. Lothar Ganser, deputy federal chairman of the reservists union of the Bundeswehr, Bundeswehr major of the reserve and provincial Steel Helmet chairman, joined the NPD. During the electoral contest before the Hessian provincial diet elections in 1966 Ganser had seen to it that active Bundeswehr soldiers as well as reservists put up posters and distributed propaganda leaflets for the NPD.

A special sensation was caused by the election of Captain Wolfgang Ross, squadron captain in the 4th army air battalion, as NPD representative in the Bavarian provincial diet. Ross, who directed the NPD electoral contest in Central Franconia, declared after the election that some circles in the Bundeswehr made generous financial contributions to the NPD.

"I have made collections on strictly military principles and received contributions between 10 and 1,000 marks. Not a single one refused to give money." (*BPB Korrespondenz*, 14 December 1966)

In view of these facts the West German press in its columns cannot but admit the support of the Bundeswehr for the NPD though it did so at first in a timid and ashamed manner.

The cultivation of militaristic traditions in the publication of armed SS which has been reactivated by Bonn. The nazi Wehrmacht including the armed SS is the example for the

Bundeswehr. Those who fell for Hitler are honoured and the living are called upon to make new sacrifices.

Der Freiwillige
HEFT 11 – NOVEMBER 1966



„Ohne Opferbereitschaft kann ein Volk nicht leben!“

Rede anlässlich der Gedenkstunde für die Gefallenen der Panzertruppen am 13. November 1966 in Münster

Namens der Soldaten der ehemaligen Panzertruppen danke ich unserer Panzertruppen-Schule von Herzen dafür, daß sie unseren in der weiten Welt gefallenen Kameraden und damit auch uns Überlebenden schon vor sechs Jahren hier eine Heimstatt geschaffen hat. Und wir danken der Schule ebenso dafür, daß Jahr um Jahr dieser Ehrenhain junge Truppe und alte Soldaten vereinigt zur gemeinsamen Ehrung unserer Toten.

Das ist ein Zeichen dafür, daß unsere neuen Panzertruppen keine „Gnade des Nullpunktes“ brauchen. Sie konnten gestützt an dem anknüpfen, was unsere Gefallenen an Liebe zur Heimat, Kühnheit, selbständigem Handeln und Kameradschaft ihnen vorgelebt hatten. Daß die Panzertruppen-Schule daraus in solcher Tuchfühlung mit uns steht, ist für uns Überlebende aus den alten Regimentern eine ständige Freude, Genugtuung und Verpflichtung.

Wir konnten trotz äußersten Einsatz die Niederlage mit all ihren schrecklichen Folgen nicht abwenden. War deshalb der Tod unserer Kameraden sinnlos? Vergessen wir nicht, daß neben der deutschen Tüchtigkeit die Anerkennung der militärischen Tugenden des deutschen Soldaten es war, die uns wieder Ansehen und Achtung in der Welt verschafft haben. Und mehr noch: ein Land, für das Millionen von Männern und Frauen bereit sind, ihr Letztes herzugeben, wird sich aus jeder Niederlage wieder aufrichten, wenn das Opfer unserer Gefallenen, ihr Ehrgefühl, ihre Kameradschaft für uns alle Vorbild bleiben und in unserem Tun sich auswirken.

Lassen Sie uns auch nicht zuletzt hier gedenken der Gefallenen der Panzerdivisionen der Waffen-SS, die mit der gleichen Liebe zur Heimat gekämpft haben wie wir und deren Tapferkeit und Standfestigkeit viele von uns Älten es verdanken, daß wir heute hier sein können.

Nehmen wir im Herzen mit, an was unsere Gefallenen uns mahnen:

OHNE OPFERBEREITSCHAFT KANN EIN VOLK NICHT BESTEHEN.

General d. Panzertruppe a. D. Eberbach

DER FREIWILLIGE 23

"The National Democratic Party (NPD) has succeeded in breaking into the Bundeswehr, reported Joachim Prinz, President of the Council of the Jewish World Congress, in London after his return from a one week visit to gather information in the Federal Republic. At a public meeting of the Congress on the theme 'The New Situation in Germany' Prinz said that the NPD has found 'remarkable support' from young officers and non-commissioned officers in the elections in Hesse and Bavaria." (*Die Welt*, Hamburg, 12 December 1966)

In Munich young officers openly embraced the cause of the NPD at an electoral meeting: "Dressed in stylish civilian clothes, two Bundeswehr lieutenants and cadets, one after the other, tell poet Grass that many of their comrades threaten to have a very comfortable feeling with higher national sound intensity. 'The Bundeswehr is not fascist, but it is homeless'." (*Der Spiegel*, Hamburg, 1966, No. 48)

The propaganda manager of the NPD in Schleswig-Holstein, Waltraud Schnoor, triumphed in view of the impending electoral contest:

"The soldiers come to us in crowds. They tell me and my friends: Give us genuine tasks!" (*Der Spiegel*, Hamburg, 20 February 1967)

Letter to the editor by Sergeant-Major Wolfgang Müller:

"If you had watched the election results at the last elections in Bavaria it would have certainly struck you that the NPD had very high returns in the soldiers' residential areas. Many soldiers have themselves been nominated as candidates of this party. But there is certainly a good reason for it. The soldiers, younger as well as older ones, hope to find a genuine political home which has been denied them up to now. We soldiers are interested in finding a party which at last arouses the national consciousness in every German and helps the soldiers to find their rightful place in the state." (*Der Spiegel*, Hamburg, 1966, No. 17)

The Bundeswehr as Voters' Potential of the NPD

The support for the NPD by members of the Bundeswehr is visibly expressed in the electoral statistics.

At the Bundestag elections in September 1965 the NPD, then not yet one year old, received an average poll of 2 per cent in the Federal Republic. But an analysis of the electoral results of all garrison towns in military district VI (Bavaria) showed that here the NPD received twice as many votes and more than the federal average. Examples:

Altenstadt-Schongau	4.7 per cent NPD votes
Feuchtwangen	4.1 per cent NPD votes
Berchtesgaden	5.3 per cent NPD votes
Bayreuth	8.37 per cent NPD votes

The NPD leaders gave the following assessment:

"The mass of the older non-commissioned officers and older officers up to the rank of captain and major voted

NPD, i.e., the direct superiors of the common soldiers, those who are often asked for advice because of their experience of life recorded a distinct swing to the right. Decisive was also the fact that the NPD addressed the soldiers as no other party and nominated them as candidates. A beginning influence of this group on the lower ranks could be stated." (*Deutsche Nachrichten*, Hanover, 26 November 1965)

At the communal elections in the spring of 1966 in Schleswig-Holstein (military district I) the statement made for military district VI was confirmed. The NPD poll in Schleswig-Holstein amounted to an average of 2.4 per cent. In the towns in which Bundeswehr soldiers were quartered these average figures shot upwards:

Neustadt	8.4 per cent NPD votes
Oldenburg	11.2 per cent NPD votes

"In the little town of Oldenburg a captain and a sergeant of the Bundeswehr led the party from the 4.4 per cent mark (Bundestag election) to the 11.2 per cent milestone." (*Der Spiegel*, Hamburg, 1966, No. 15)

The provincial diet elections in Hesse and Bavaria resulted in NPD representation in the parliaments of these provinces with 8 and 15 deputies respectively and confirmed this trend.

In Hesse the NPD average poll was 7.9 per cent. The figures rose in the garrison regions of the Bundeswehr:

Marburg	9.8 per cent NPD votes
Giessen	8.8 per cent NPD votes
Waldeck region	11.3 per cent NPD votes
Rhoden/Arolsen	14.4 per cent NPD votes

Average poll for the NPD in Bavaria: 7.4 per cent.

But the garrison regions showed:

Bayreuth	13.9 per cent NPD votes
Bad Reichenhall	10.0 per cent NPD votes
Kaufbeuren	14.9 per cent NPD votes
Nuremberg	12.9 per cent NPD votes


"Whoever previously supposed that the Bundeswehr was immune from active right-wing radicalism must now seriously question this supposition. For the results of the provincial diet elections in Hesse and Bavaria in a few garrison towns show that right-wing extremist influences on officers and non-commissioned officers and on professional soldiers in general have increased abnormally . . . Thus a lingering right-wing undermining threatens the armed forces . . . It is clearly proved that the right-wing radical NPD has penetrated into the barracks where it could win more adherents than would be tolerable for a democratic army and that its arguments stirred the professional soldiers deeply. (*Spandauer Volksblatt*, West Berlin, 26 November 1966)

The NPD Gives the Army a Fascist Character

The NPD electoral successes also alarmed politicians and publicists in those countries which are military allies of the Federal Republic. The chief of the Bundeswehr, General de Maizière, was obliged to intervene and ap-

The Bundeswehr supports the NPD: Captain Ross bids farewell to his troops in a ceremonial inspection, so that he can represent this neo-nazi party in future as a member of the provincial diet. War minister Schröder expressed his

"thanks and recognition" to him. (Cf. the sections "Bundeswehr as Electoral Helper of the NPD" and "The Rise of Captain Ross")



Ehrung für Hauptmann Ross

Feierlich von der Truppe verabschiedet

Am Donnerstag, dem 19. Januar 1967, wurde der Hauptmann a. D. und jetzige Abgeordnete der NPD im bayerischen Landtag, Wolfgang Ross, offiziell von seinem Bataillon verabschiedet.

Vor dem zum Abschiedsappell mit Truppenfahne angetretenen gesamten Bataillon im großen Dienstanzug verabschiedete der Kommandeur des Heeresfliegerbataillons 4, Oberstleutnant Richard Stephan, seinen Staffelfelkapitän. Er sagte unter anderem, Hauptmann a. D. Ross habe als Soldat seine Pflicht für Volk und Vaterland getan und werde nun als Abgeordneter des bayerischen Landtages ebenfalls diese treue Pflichterfüllung fortsetzen. Er, der Kommandeur, verliere nur ungern einen Offizier wie Ross, der seine Staffel vom Nullpunkt aufgebaut und gut geführt habe.

Danach verlas der Bataillonskommandeur die mittlerweile eingetroffene Verabschie-

dungsurkunde des Bundesministers der Verteidigung Schröder. Wortlaut der Urkunde:

„Im Namen der
Bundesrepublik Deutschland
Der Hauptmann
Wolfgang Ross

ist durch Annahme der Wahl zum Abgeordneten des bayerischen Landtages mit Ablauf des 22. November 1966 in den Ruhestand getreten.
Für die dem deutschen Volke geleisteten treuen Dienste spreche ich ihm Dank und Anerkennung aus.

Bonn, den 20. Dezember 1966

Der Bundesminister der Verteidigung
gez.: Schröder“

Nach diesem feierlichen Akt hatte das gesamte Bataillon dienstfrei. Am Abend hatte der Kommandeur, Oberstleutnant Stephan, zu Ehren des scheidenden Hauptmannes Ross die Offiziere und Beamten zu einem Herrenabend eingeladen.

pease. In an interview he declared that less than 1.5 per cent of the NPD members are soldiers of the Bundeswehr. (Cf. *Deutschland-Berichte, Pressekorrespondenz*, 13 January 1967)

It soon became clear that de Maizière's representation was based on the shaky foundation of a deliberate lie, even though data on the activity of the NPD in the Bundeswehr and conversely the activity of the Bundeswehr in the NPD are partly but incompletely recorded.

In March 1966 the federal chairman of the NPD had already raised the visor a little: The NPD has 16,300 members now, he said, among them 600 to 700 Bundeswehr soldiers. But this was not 1.5 per cent even at that time, but three times that many. (Cf. *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 1 April 1966)

Wilhelm Gutmann, deputy federal chairman and provincial chairman of the NPD in Baden-Württemberg, then declared at the end of 1966 that the figures had risen and that now "1,200 soldiers including active colonels" were members of the NPD. (Cf. *Spandauer Volksblatt*, West Berlin, 1 December 1966)

Finally, in February 1967 a questioning of the members showed that of 1,000 NPD members 620 are former front soldiers and 183 are active or former Bundeswehr soldiers. But that is almost 20 per cent! (Cf. DPA, Hamburg, 10 February 1967)

Apart from all statistical calculation, the fact remains that the direct, daily, actual influence of the NPD on the army is far more intensive than can be proved by figures alone.

"Sixty per cent of the young officers of the Bundeswehr are interested in the NPD and this is not at all disagreeable for a few people in decisive positions. At any rate it is pleasanter for them than if the young men organized themselves in trade unions." (*deutsches panorama*, Hamburg, 1966, No. 10)

The Rise of Captain Ross

Characteristic of the penetration of the neo-fascist spirit in the Bundeswehr is the physiognomy and ideals of Captain Ross who has been sent with hearty thanks by his war minister to the NPD provincial diet parliamentary group in Munich.

Ross who was born in February 1935 experienced the Hitler Reich only as a child. But his father was Hauptsturmführer of the SS division "The Reich".

In his home in Roth near Nuremberg he collects weapons. He admires Generals von Manstein and Guderian who waged Hitler's criminal wars of aggression as leaders of big armies and took the opportunity after their defeat in West Germany to declare themselves "undefeated on the battlefield" in their memoirs. Of the German politicians of the post-war period he is above all impressed by Franz-Josef Strauss.

The electoral contest in the district of Central Franconia was conducted by him—according to his own confes-

sion—on the basis of federal army service regulation 100/1.

"As the first member of the NPD Ross has meanwhile been delegated to the Bavarian broadcasting council. He intends especially to concern himself with television programming to prevent 'an underground left-wing intellectualism from developing' on German television screens. Thus Ross wants to protest against TV films such as 'Dying for Madrid'; in this report on the Spanish civil war which was televised on 14 December last year, the Phalangists are said to have been devaluated." (*Der Spiegel*, Hamburg, 1967, No. 7)

An interview with the Hamburg news magazine *Der Spiegel* led to his self-unmasking:

"Spiegel: Where does the inclination toward an NPD politician become obvious—among common soldiers, non-commissioned officers or in the body of officers?"

"Ross: It goes through all ranks.

"Spiegel: What could induce a soldier to vote NPD or even become a member of your party?"

"Ross: Well, when they think about things and ask themselves why they are really serving and then learn that they are serving for a liberal system, for democracy—now, we address them in a different way. For the NPD, service is a service of honour for the fatherland.

"Spiegel: That does not entirely explain it, I suppose.

"Ross: Naturally not. There are many arguments of the NPD which meet with appreciation among the soldiers, and there is a general uneasiness, not only because of the tasks of the Bundeswehr but also because of the service practices. Just think of the so-called internal leadership.

"Spiegel: Is it no good? Is service too lax?"

"Ross: Yes, the service is absolutely too lax to suit me.

"Spiegel: Do you mean that the Bundeswehr should have higher social recognition?"

"Ross: Yes, indeed.

"Spiegel: Differently than the others?"

"Ross: Well, at many garrisons there prevails a certain equality, an officer is worth nothing, he is a Mr. what's-his-name.

"Spiegel: And isn't he really?"

"Ross: No, there is no question that he belongs to an elevated class. This has always been so in German history.

"Spiegel: In the last war criminal orders were issued from the highest command level—such as the order to shoot all Soviet commissars—and German officers like you who were pledged to unconditional obedience, obeyed.

"Ross: Certainly, there are a few human foibles. But in the final analysis these officers were in a war.

"Spiegel: Which had been unleashed by Germany.

"Ross: I know the talk about sole guilt. My party thinks differently on it.

"Spiegel: Your party demands that an end should finally be put to the war criminal trials. Why specifically?"

"Ross: We have allowed ourselves to be forced from

outside to postpone the application of the statute of limitations for murder in the Third Reich. For example, as I read in the *Spiegel*, there was the Union of Jewish Veterans in New York which cried blue murder and threatened that if this law were not adopted in the Bundestag they would act exactly as they did then with the economic blockade against Germany.

"Spiegel: You do not appreciate such moral pressure?

"Ross: I think that we should not allow ourselves to be blackmailed by any side. I did not kill any Jew.

"Spiegel: Do you not think that a nation has the moral obligation to pass sentence upon the atrocities of its recent history?

"Ross: Do you not think that there are other ways, too?

"Spiegel: Which way do you see?

"Ross: An exemplary life of our people. We have proved for twenty years that we are decent people. If a war criminal has not been seized by justice then he has really had good luck." (*Der Spiegel*, Hamburg, 1967, No. 7)

THE RETURN TO THE WEHRMACHT

"Yes, we were the masters of the world, and we still want to be, damn it!"

"...and we march as we did once in Poland and Flanders!"

(From songs of the Bundeswehr)

The weapons are up to date, the spirit is an old one. It is preserved in the cultivation of traditions officially promoted by the federal war ministry. Just as once the Hitler Wehrmacht recalled the imperial army of the First World War, so the Bundeswehr today recalls the Hitler Wehrmacht of the Second World War.

War criminal Speidel, retired Bundeswehr general and former commander of the Central European NATO armed forces, in 1964 asked the members of more than 1,200 traditional associations of the Hitler Wehrmacht at a meeting of veterans in Stuttgart:

"If we ask the Bundeswehr to emulate the old soldiers, I now implore you my dear comrades—tested fighters in two world wars—take good care of our young Bundeswehr!"

In 1965, on the occasion of the initiation of the army non-commissioned officers school I in Sonthofen, the then war minister von Hassel spoke the following words which were a directive for the militarist propaganda of the Bundeswehr:

"Nobody has been able to take honour away from the German soldier. Be proud of your fathers. Emulate them in faithfulness and a sense of duty!"

On the basis of such official recommendations the units of the Bundeswehr have taken over the traditions of fascist regiments or divisions. The leading cadres of the Bundeswehr themselves maintain official and personal relations with the traditional associations restored from the Hitler time:

Bundeswehr General Count Kielmansegg, commander-in-chief of the Central European NATO armed forces, former member of the ill-famed "ghost division", a tank division of the Hitler Wehrmacht, maintains the closest relations with the traditional association of this unit.

Brigadier General Carganico, tank inspector of the troop office of the federal army, former member of the "ghost division", also has relations with retired General von Wietersheim, chairman of the traditional association and last commander of this division. In 1964 Carganico, as former commander of the 8th tank brigade of the Bundeswehr, organized a meeting between members of his troop and members of the traditional association.

Colonel Harry Hermann, commander of the air-borne and air transport school in Altenstadt/Schongau, arranged at this school a meeting of his soldiers with former members of the Schongau parachute training regiment of the Göring air force. Colonel Hermann makes every effort

"... to preserve the tradition of the old troops and pass it on to the young generation." (*Der deutsche Fallschirmjäger*, Karlsruhe, 1964, No. 6)

Paratroopers of the Bundeswehr on official invitation took part in a traditional meeting of Göring's paratroopers in Wolfsburg in June 1965.

The fascist paratrooper General Ramcke had the following praise for his successors:

"We especially welcome the fact that the commander of the first air-borne division, Brigadier General Sonneck, has sent us an official delegation of his division. The division lies on the training grounds in Bavaria. Service duty did not admit the dispatch of a larger delegation. But I know from personal experience especially with the paratroop battalion in Bergzabern that the name of the old parachuter troop has a good reputation with the young parachuters. There exist many useful relations. For five years our brave General Kroh has put his stamp upon the 1st air-borne division under difficult conditions and in the spirit of the old parachute troop which was not to be surpassed in readiness to operate and make sacrifices." (*Der Deutsche Fallschirmjäger*, Karlsruhe, 1965, No. 7/8)

Brigadier General Sonneck who has been praised by the fascist Ramcke is today deputy inspector of the federal army.

The Hitler Wehrmacht, which waged total war and totally lost it is and continues to be the model and spur of the Bundeswehr.

"An army which lives without fanaticism of belief and without the stimulus of previous models would renounce a power which helps to endure rigours and form a troop on which ... the state leadership can rely." (*Wehrkunde*, Munich, 1959, No. 2)

Later the semi-official paper of the Bundeswehr top command explained by means of the tradition decree of the war ministry what is to be understood by it:

"Federal Minister of Defence Kai-Uwe von Hassel has delivered his judgement on the Bundeswehr in these sentences: I know and guarantee that our soldiers are ready for sacrifices and that they have a will to fight and a perseverance which is not inferior to that of their fathers. This Bundeswehr deserves confidence." (*Wehrkunde*, Munich, 1965, No. 12)

A newspaper which is published in Kiel confirms:

"One . . . cause of the increasing influence of the right wing is undoubtedly the influence of many older soldiers. In talks, in discussions and even in lessons 'the old times' are spoken about over and over again. The dashing Wehrmacht of the fathers, their performances and successes, the soldier who is respected everywhere among the people, the quite different attitude of the fathers to army and arms, is confronting the army of today."

The conclusion of the newspaper:

"Thus the young soldiers have for years been given distorted pictures of history. Apparently certain people have long since prepared what can today be flatly recorded as neo-nazism . . . In edition 11/1965 (of *Information für die Truppe*—editor) they went so far as to offer the young generation in the Bundeswehr a former officer of Adolf Hitler as a model. The life-story of the officer. Colonel W. Mölders, overflowed with warm-heartedness and blue eyes. All victories of this fighter airman and later general inspector of his outfit were mentioned. No decoration, no promotion was omitted. But one thing was concealed because it did not fit into the well-rounded picture of a hero and man at the same time: He was the highest decorated soldier of the 'Condor Legion' and fought on the side of the fascist Franco, helping to destroy Guernica." (*VZ Kieler Morgenzeitung*, 19 May 1966)

Reserve Lieutenant Jens van Scherpenberg from Munich confirms on the basis of personal experiences how strongly Bundeswehr members are already sworn to such criminal warfare as was practised in Spain:

"The longer serving officers and non-commissioned officers . . . they are glad to be soldiers again, German soldiers, mark you! For none of them doubts that the German soldier is again the best in the world now as before. And the view: 'Two German divisions to Vietnam and things would be finished there!' can be heard all too often in their ranks . . ." (*Die Zeit*, Hamburg, 4 November 1966)

Van Scherpenberg reports with what primitiveness the war image of the Bundeswehr is again marked by anti-communism:

"The war image also of the younger professional soldiers and conscripts is characterized to a great extent by the Russian campaign, in their eyes the absolute high point of the German soldierly tradition . . . One still thinks of an atomic sow-hunting when officers and non-commissioned officers discuss with us, with fatherly superiority, their strategical and tactical advice for the fight against the 'Russian', their war experiences,

or, when these do not exist, their partly rather curious war conceptions: 'The Russian' is courageous to death, perfidious and sly, but his final defeat is consequently necessary, for he is stupid." (*Ibid.*)

Former recruits gave similar examples:

"Old superiors necessarily have more experience and judgment of human nature than young ones . . .

"On the other hand, superiors who served in the war have a special liking for senseless grinder's methods, or they revel in their war deeds in an unpleasant manner and then harass those who do not reward their enthusiasm with acknowledgement . . . The older superiors often indulge in their past with 'Do you recall that time, comrade, when we . . .', thus putting the past over the present. Or: Old sergeants often cannot conceal their 'Wehrmacht training' . . . The older men: sometimes very conservative, the old stupid marching songs . . . the old sayings, the front experiences . . . the older superiors think in a completely outdated army style, and the younger ones follow the same road if they want to get on . . ." (H. Neyer, "Wie hast Du's mit der Bundeswehr?", Munich, 1963, p. 48/50)

Spiritual Nourishment for the March

Recently, as in the Greater German Wehrmacht, there has returned to the troop libraries Ernst Jünger, that would-be historian of whom Goebbels' ideologists attested that ". . . in his works, especially in his war books ('In Stahlgewittern') he set the nationalist and heroic idea against the bourgeois spirit." (Volks-Brockhaus, 1940, p. 327)

Twenty-five years later, the praise of him sounds almost more enthusiastic:

"He is to be considered as one of the fathers of the internal leadership." (*Die Bundeswehr*, series of papers of the internal leadership, Bonn, 1965, No. 3)

A war criminal like SS General Sepp Dietrich, who died recently and around whose grave many Bundeswehr officers from the former Waffen SS crowded, must not be missing in the troop libraries:

"The Bundeswehr Association . . . has given quite a special 'birthday present' to the Bundeswehr for its tenth anniversary, a book on non-commissioned officers 'Unteroffiziere—Werden, Wesen und Wirken eines Berufsstandes'. As proof that Germany's lower ranks always carried a marshal's baton in their knapsack, a few generals from the period of the Third Reich are mentioned, among them Sepp Dietrich, . . . commander of the 'Adolf Hitler Lifeguard Standard' . . . If he is no model, then who else? Brigadier General Keilig, chairman of the Bundeswehr Association, reacted on critical remarks in the public . . . by saying 'that historical facts can just not be omitted'. But this biography teems with 'omissions'. Sepp Dietrich was one of the most faithful and brutal vassals of his Führer."

And:

"Now the allegedly democratic Bundeswehr Association has made him, Sepp Dietrich, the hero of all non-commissioned officers. If one continues the cultivation of traditions in this way, then a work on German 'lance-corporals' would certainly be due on the 15th anniversary of the Bundeswehr in 1970. For historical reasons naturally, 'Hitler, born on 20 April 1889', commander-in-chief of the German Wehrmacht, is scarcely to be avoided." (*Deutsche Volkszeitung*, Düsseldorf, 3 December 1965)

A flood of brilliantly colourful prospectuses is flowing into the staffs and troop libraries of the Bundeswehr, guided by the war ministry.

The military publishers E. S. Mittler & son, Frankfurt-on-Main, Holshausenerstrasse 25, who were already renowned under Hitler, recommends to the Bundeswehr members in its 1966-67 publishing list, for example:

"The Campaign to Stalingrad"

"Battles in Russia . . . Personal war experiences of the reinforced infantry regiment are thrillingly described and examined for their experience contents. Thus the book becomes a manual of a special kind."

"The Blitz Campaigns from 1939 to 1941, by Lieutenant General B. Mueller-Hillebrand"

"*Marine-Rundschau* . . . The Battle of the Atlantic in the German Strategy of the Second World War, by Admiral Dönitz (retired). The Memoirs of Admiral Dr. h. c. E. Raeder"

The "Buchdienst Nation Europa", Coburg, of SS Sturmbannführer Arthur Erhardt, offers, for example:

"Albert Kesselring—Soldier to the Last Day"

"Mussolini . . . the Portrait of a Personality"

"Dönitz—10 Years and 20 Days"

"The German Bundeswehr . . . This representative picture volume is especially suited as a present for young soldiers and reservists, but soldiers of the old Wehrmacht will be interested in making comparisons with the photographs."

The "Ekkehard Book Dispatch—the Book Shop of the Soldier" owned by fascist paratroop officer Rudolf Böhmler in Tübingen, Biesinger Strasse 18a, wrote the following in a 1964-65 sales list:

"Dear friends of books and records,

. . . Our military history co-worker, himself a world-famous military writer, has selected for you from the 1964 Frankfurt Book Fair the most valuable from what was to be found there for the former soldiers and for the men of our Bundeswehr. On the same subject we have compiled for you an assortment of excellent records which contain German marches and soldiers' songs—in perfect performance. And now make your choice, please!

With friendly greetings,

Your Ekkehard Book Dispatch."

And what did the faithful Ekkehard of Göring's paratroopers select for the Bundeswehr?

"Böhmler—*Paratroopers* . . . 400 documentary photographs of the old and the new German paratroops . . ."

"Schramm—*Hitler as a Military Leader*"

"Haupt—*Demjansk—A Stronghold in the East*"

"Steiner—*The Army of the Outlaws—The Standard Work on the War Actions of the Waffen SS*"

"Klose—*Generation on the March* . . . Hitler Youth—A Documentary Report . . . An especially instructive book for the young generation! The work is suited to remove the false prejudices of our present youth".

"The Struggle of the East Prussians"

"This Is How Breslau Fought"

"Tactics in the Russian Campaign—Experiences and Conclusions"

"Ernst Jünger—In Steel Thunderstorms"

"And here are our soldiers' records:

"The song of the paratroops—'The Sun Shines Red' with full text on the record wrapper.

"Three Lilies, Three Lilies . . . Big soldier song melody—24 popular march songs sung and played: Argonnerwald, Funker and Panzerlied, Erika, Lilli-Marleen and others."

The Schild-Verlag in Munich whose authors are e.g. the previously convicted SS man Kernmayr alias Kern, SS officer Greil and the SD staff member Olga Gerstberger alias "Olga von Barenyi", spreads in the Bundeswehr not only the militaristic neo-fascist "German Soldier's Calendar" but also the series of booklets "Front Experiences of the Second World War", which scarcely differ from the nazi series of papers War Library of German Youth. In addition, this publishing-house maintains a book service whose voluminous offer of the above-mentioned provinance has also been admitted to the troop libraries of the Bundeswehr.

The militaristic Kurt Vowinkel Verlag, Neckargemünd, notorious for its fascist series "The Wehrmacht in Action" was joined by the "Scharnhorst Soldiers' Book Club" which vitally influences the establishment of Bundeswehr troop libraries along militarist and anti-communist lines. For this purpose the "Buchgemeinschaft" published the "Military Literary Guide", 1958 to 1959, No. 4 (96 pages) with the title "Entertainment and Education, a Guide for Soldiers and Libraries".

Herein a basic stock of 2,000 volumes for troop libraries was outlined and enjoyed the "favour of the official authorities concerned"—that means the Bonn war ministry—according to the "Scharnhorst Book Club".

Wehrausbildung in Wort und Bild (Military Training in Word and Picture)—Illustrated Monthly for the Bundeswehr, is also published in the Verlag Offene Worte, Bonn, Kaiserstrasse 65, and edited in cooperation with the Bonn war ministry. In it fascist war experiences are openly praised as desirable models for the Bundeswehr. Two examples of this from No. 12/1965 of this periodical: "Kurowski—the struggle on Crete—recalls in a vivid style and in thrilling descriptions the

In Bonn circles militarist decorations are very much in demand. The decorations of the First and Second World War can, of course be worn once more in West Germany. The "decoration societies" constituted themselves years ago

(right side). Advertisements in which orders are offered are not rare (left side). The advertisements reproduced here were taken from the Truppenpraxis and the Deutscher Soldatenkalender 1967. (Cf. section on "Symbols of Yesterday")

ORDEN Ehrenzeichen ECK
Frankfurt a. Main
Schillerstr. 30, Tel. 2485

Höchste deutsche Tapferkeitsorden des 1. und 2. Weltkrieges

— Ritterschaften und Vereinigungen —



Ritterschaft des Ordens Pour le Mérite, 1. Vors.: Gen. Lt. a. D. Theo Osterkamp, 757 Baden-Baden, Bismarckstr. 14, Tel. 2505



Orden der Max-Josef-Ritter. — Archiv u. Kanzlei: Bayer. Kriegsarchiv / Archivdirektor a. D. Böhm, 8 München 19, Leonrodstr. 57, Tel. 516 06 12.



Kapitel der Ritter des Kgl. Sächs. Milit. St. Heinrichs-Ordens. Kanzler: Oberstlt. a. D. Siegfried Preibsch, 85 Nürnberg, Kessler Platz 13



Orden vom Militär-Verdienst-Kreuz E. V. (Mannschafts- und Unteroffizier-Pour le Mérite des 1. Weltkrieges.) Ehrenpräsident: General der Fallschirmtruppe a. D. H. B. Ramcke, Kappeln/Schlei, Kiek ut 14, Tel. 2020.



Orden der Bayerischen Tapferkeitsmedaille. Ordenspräsidium: Hugo Schmitt, München 9, Stresemannstr. 4

Württemberg. Goldene Militär-Verdienst-Medaille: Albert Mayer, 7 Stuttgart-Münster, Elbestraße 48.



Ordensgemeinschaft der Ritterkreuzträger (O.d.R.). Präsident: Gen. Maj. a. D. Horst Niemack, 3101 Groß-Hehlen über Celle; 1. Vors.: Martin Steglich, 5224 Ruppichteroth / Bz. Köln, Haus Maro; Geschäftsstelle: 62 Wiesbaden, Gneisenaustraße 35, Tel. 44 41 76.

Selt 75 Jahren
Orden-Ehrenzeichen
Miniaturen • Bänder • Dekorationen
Deutschland • Ausland
Hofjuwelier • Hoflieferant
Friedrich Sedlatzek
der bekannte Orden-Spezialist
KOCHEL
Preisliste kostenlos

Die bekanntesten **ORDEN**
beider Weltkriege in verliehener
und Neuausführung, 28 Seit., 4 Farb-
seiten, 250 Abbildungen, DM 4.—

An advertisement in the neo-nazi Nationalzeitung: Gramophone records were offered with war reports and special announcements from Hitler's headquarters with a background of songs and marches of the nazi Wehrmacht.

"Because of the great demand, immediate orders are requested." (Cf. section on "spiritual Nourishment for the March")

latenter Schizophreniker ... n-

National+Zeitung

**Eine einzigartige Dokumentation
von hohem historischen Wert**

Aus dem Führerhauptquartier



**Die bedeutendsten deutschen Wehrmachtberichte und
Sondermeldungen** in Originaltondokumenten auf zwei
30-cm-Langspielplatten mit Märschen und Liedern aus
jener Zeit, u. a. Fallschirmjäger-Lied, Von Finnland bis
zum Schwarzen Meer, Panzer rollen in Afrika vor, Es blit-
zen die stählernen Schwingen . . .

Gesamtpreis DM 50.-, Einzelpreis je DM 25.-

**Alleinvertrieb: Buchversand Ekkehard
74 Tübingen Biesinger Straße 18a**

Telefon 07122 / 5298, Versand per Nachnahme.

Wegen großer Nachfrage umgehende Bestellung erbeten.

bold fighting of the paratroops and highland soldiers in dramatic individual episodes."

"Haupt-Kiev... The powerful struggle in the Kiev area is one of the greatest German successes which was gained during the fighting in the east in 1941."

The Umschau-Verlag, Frankfurt-on-Main, Stuttgarter Strasse 18-24, edits *Soldat und Technik* (Soldier and Technology), a periodical for technical instruction, continued education and information in the Bundeswehr, edited in cooperation with the Federal Ministry of Defence. In No. 1/66, revanchist and fascist war literature is offered in particular:

"Falk-I Remained in Königsberg"

"1966 East Prussian Calendar"

"1966 Silesian Calendar"

"Attacking Height 4,000-A War Diary of the German Luftwaffe... which will especially show our growing young generation, through its matter-of-fact and impassionate representation, how its fathers and grandfathers behaved in the case of danger."

The Erich-Pabel-Verlag, Rastatt/Baden, sells its (Landser) *Soldier* series in the Bundeswehr. They are not missing in any troop library. A few hundred titles were edited in editions of millions.

Der Landser (weekly)

Der Landser-large edition (fortnightly)

Der Landser-Bearers of the Knight's Cross Narrate" (monthly)

This is How the Common Soldier Laughs, Humor in Uniform (irregular)

Novels in Sound (records-fortnightly)

West German journalists have found out what value the generals of the Bundeswehr attribute to the *Landser* series. Accordingly:

"... the Pabel-Verlag has created four more series in response to orders of the Federal Defence Ministry... The booklets falsify or conceal... the historical truth." (*Der Spiegel*, Hamburg, 21 October 1959)

Examples:

"War is a beautiful adventure, a kind of sport. Destroying and seeing things destroyed are fun... The killing of people has to take place with tranquil composure... War is the greatest test of a real man."

"War is not a subject for critical reflection and judgment. It is not necessary to ask for origin, purpose, issue and outcome."

"Der Landser-19th PD in Action behind the Fronts" (No. 109) recommends to the Bundeswehr soldier that he "treat Russians and communists in the style of his father: The revolver handle comes down powerfully and dully on the head of the Russian... The soldiers rage like devils. The bayonets glitter and lunge out relentlessly... With a gurgling sound the Russian falls over backward."

In the "Landser booklets" with the title "Lepkowski Raiding Party" a special undertaking of fascist paratroopers against French resistance fighters is described in detail. The commander of this raiding party, Lieuten-

ant Lepkowski, is in a certain sense already the model for the later rangers in the US army and also in the Bundeswehr. This Lepkowski is perfect in all kinds of killing and unscrupulous in the performance of murderous orders. It is described in the booklet with sadist pleasure how Lepkowski has the French guerrillas shot and smoked out of their farm-houses. The murderer Lepkowski lives today in the Federal Republic and was already in 1960 captain of paratroops in the Bundeswehr. At present Lepkowski is chief of the 300th long-distance spy company (III Bundeswehrkorps), i.e., a ranger unit which is to be operated exclusively for subversive activities and other actions contrary to international law in the enemy's hinterland.

Symbols of Yesterday

For years this advertisement has been published in the semi-official Bundeswehr periodical *Truppenpraxis*:

"For 75 years, orders and distinctions

miniatures-ribbons-decorations-Germany-foreign countries, Court jeweller-Court supplier Friedrich Sedlatzek, the well-known order specialist-price list free.

"The best-known orders of two world wars in awarding and new designs..."

These old orders of the Hitler Wehrmacht are highly esteemed in the Bundeswehr and often serve as steps in the career ladder:

"The officers of the Bundeswehr also know that their chief and their superiors have secret valuation and fitness lists in which regular 'points' are given in accordance with a system which is not known, and cannot be influenced by those concerned-in contrast of the judgments... But nobody knows if the Spanish Cross in gold is assessed higher than the German Cross in gold..." (*deutsches panorama*, Hamburg, 1966, No. 13) From "Notes on Training 3/65 of the Bundeswehr":

"BMV dtg Fü BI 4-Az. 35-08-07

... 4) Souvenirs, symbols and emblems

a) There are no objections to hanging up pictures-mostly original photographs-of prominent army leaders, commanders or soldiers of the Second World War, even if these pictures inevitably show insignia of the Third Reich in their original form."

There is hardly a barracks of the Bundeswehr without photographs of highly decorated generals and war criminals of the nazi army, decorating the walls as ideals. This was confirmed by retired General Walther Wenck who sacrificed tens of thousands of soldiers and civilians without hesitation in the last battle before Berlin:

"For us old soldiers Guderian is not merely an expert, but also our example of a man. It is with good reason that his picture today hangs in many of tank regiment barracks, as I could see for myself."

To characterize this "expert":

"General Guderian belonged to the 'court of honour'

commissioned by Hitler to expel from the army the officers involved in the assassination attempt of 20 July and to deliver them to the hangman Freisler." (*Die Zeit*, Hamburg, 23 July 1965)

Today nazi flags decorate the museum of the Uetersen air base. The original uniform of von Richthofen, commander of the "Condor Legion" is also exhibited there.

The "Condor Legion" is officially glorified:

"By participating in the Spanish Civil War, the Wehrmacht which had grown strong could win great fame, was decorated with laurels of victory and proved the superiority of German men and arms." (Study of the Bundeswehr leading staff, "The test of the German soldier at the present time", Summer 1964)

The traditional link of the Bundeswehr to the nazi legion and the man it helped to power, was revealed by an event which took place in May 1965:

Franco presented to the federal air force an old "Ju-52", a plane used as bomber and transport and idolized up to this very day by the old Göring pilots in the Bonn air force as a symbol of victory over the Spanish Republic. The plane was handed over at the Neubiberg air base. From there it was transported to West Berlin where it was given a "place of honour".

Johannes Trautloft, since promoted to commanding general of the air force group south, said at the founding meeting of the "Condor Legion Traditional Association" in 1956: "The actions of the Condor Legion in Spain must serve as a model to youth in the German Federal Republic."

The traditional colours of the nazi "Tannenberg Monument" today decorate the reception hall of the Bundeswehr College for Internal Leadership in Coblenz. On the staircase the visitor finds portraits of generals of the imperial army and the Hitler army.

A "field of honour for the fallen German tank-troops" was set up at the school for fighting troops II in Munster-Lager. It consists of a ring of memorial stones, every one of which symbolizes the "glorious deeds" of a certain tank unit. The unit insignia of each division is on a bronze plaque in the stone. The names are underneath:

"Tank Corps Grossdeutschland"

"Tank Corps Feldherrnhalle"

"Parachute Tank Corps Herman Göring"

An appropriate number of stones were set aside to commemorate the tank divisions of the SS. Only the symbols are missing.

About 100 barracks of the Bundeswehr bear the names of reactionary generals from the imperial era or of generals of the Hitler army who are guilty of war crimes. Only nine of them carry names of victims of 20 July 1944.

There are

eight Hindenburg barracks (named after the imperial fieldmarshal and later president of the Reich, who appointed Hitler as chancellor of the Reich);

four Lettow-Vorbeck barracks (named after the imperial colonial officer who had thousands of Africans killed);

the Tirpitz barracks (named after the imperial admiral who created the battle fleet for the First World War); the General Dietl barracks (named after one of Hitler's favourite generals who commanded the attack on northern Norway);

the Litzmann barracks (named after a general of the First World War whose name was also used by Hitler when he renamed the town of Lodz after it had been conquered by the fascists);

the General Wever barracks (named after an air force general who built up the fascist bombing fleet);

the Graf-Goltz barracks (named after a commander of a volunteer corps of the nineteen-twenties);

the Ritter-von-Leeb barracks (named after a field-marshal who waged Hitler's Blitzkrieg);

the Schlieffen barracks (named after the inventor of Blitzkriegstrategy in the imperial general staff).

As Crowning: SS Death's Head in the Bundeswehr

More than twenty years ago the verdict passed by the International Military Court in Nuremberg declared the Himmler SS, including the Waffen SS, as a criminal organization. In spite of this more than 2,000 former officers of the Waffen SS up to the rank of Obersturmbannführer found their way into West German barracks right after the Bundeswehr had been set up.

In 1965 the Ministry of War repeated its statement: "The Federal Minister of Defence

SI 4-AZ 35-08-07

Bonn, 18 October 1965
ext.: 9740

To the distributor

... Anyone wanting to foster military traditions as former member of the Waffen SS will be welcome in the Bundeswehr as a former soldier."

General Übelhack, Commander of the territorial forces in the Bundeswehr, encouraged members and officers of the SS to join the Bundeswehr:

"It cannot be tolerated", said the general, "that the members of the Waffen SS, a regular and brave formation should be considered as a special case". He confirmed his statement by saying: "I vouch for that. In any case the question will be settled. Certain ideas are being discussed in Bonn which will soon have their effect." (*HIAG-Informationen Letter*)

Thus encouraged, the SS paper *Der Freiwillige*, Osnabrück, implored the Bundeswehr in No. 11/1960: "I wish to God that the units of NATO could stand the test in case of danger as the European units of the Waffen SS have done."

Army instructors from the ranks of the SS see to it that the Death's Head symbol in the Bundeswehr is highly polished. This is proved by a recommendation

among others published in the periodical *Truppenpraxis*, 1960, No. 9, p. 688, published by the West German war ministry:

“‘Tanks in the focus of the fronts’—by Will Fey, J. F. Lehmanns publishing house, Munich . . . The author of the book participated in many battles on the eastern and western fronts as member of a ‘tiger’ crew and describes his war experiences in the formation of the then Waffen SS. It is reported what the soldier of the last war . . . was able to perform.”

In the preface of his war textbook for the Bundeswehr, SS man Fey writes:

“If now young people again serve voluntarily or under conscription in the Bundeswehr and if they choose the tank regiment, they should be aware of the fact that the soldiers of that time *are back again as their teachers and instructors* . . . (emphasis by the editor) That is the reason why we, too, have come back, to pass on all our experiences gained on all theatres of war and with all enemies . . .” (W. Fey, “Panzer im Brennpunkt der Fronten”, Munich, 1960)

SS Men in the Bundeswehr

SS man Buntefuss of the 2nd air force training regiment; SS man Diebel, the recruits call him “slave-driver”, of the 134th tank battalion;

SS Junker Hempel, as chief of the staff company in “HQ LANDJUT” (Headquarters of the Allied Land Forces Schleswig-Holstein and Jutland, Denmark);

SS man Renner, major and chief of the 3rd inspection of the Federal College for Army Officers I (Hanover), who formerly called upon the students to go to Hanover in plain clothes as a raiding squad for the “duel between the SPD and the SED”.

SS Obersturmführer and former Gestapo chief in

Tromsö (Norway), Hans Altenbrunn, wanted in Norway and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic as a war criminal is today senior inspector at the MAD, secret service arm of the Bundeswehr.

Deputations of officers and honorary units of the Bundeswehr officially appear at all assemblies of traditional associations of Hitler’s SS killer battalions:

November 1964: SS-HIAG commemoration in Stolberg/Enkweiler—Colonel Gurth took part as leader of a representative delegation of the Bundeswehr;

April 1965: Meeting of the SS mountain division “North” in Mittenwald in the presence of General Thilo, commander of the 1st highlands-fighter division as well as the commander of the Bundeswehr school for winter training in Mittenwald;

Whitsun 1965: 11th Assembly of the SS HIAG in Mülheim/Ruhr. Lieutenant Colonel Stamm from the Bundeswehr spoke on behalf of the West German minister of war: “As representative of the Bundeswehr I want to cordially thank you for your invitation which we accepted with pleasure. Allow me to thank you for the friendly words of welcome and convey to you greetings from the minister as well as those of my comrades!”;

October 1965: Meeting of the SS division “Götz von Berlichingen”—a paratroop unit of the Bundeswehr mounts a guard of honour;

October 1965: Nordmark meeting of the SS in Rendsburg—Major Kötzing from the 1st military district and Lieutenant Colonel Niemann from the garrison detachment convey greetings of the Bundeswehr;

April 1966: Meeting of the SS regional organization in Siegen/Westfalen—Lieutenant Colonel Graf Bernstorff from the Bundeswehr is present;

September 1966: Nordmark meeting of the SS in Rendsburg—officers of the Bundeswehr bring greetings;

Meeting of the 6th highlands division “North” in Windsheim—the 1st highlands fighter division of the Bundeswehr provide a delegation of honour.

NPD – Product and Shock Troop of the Monopolies

HOT-HOUSE PLANT OF THE BONN SYSTEM

The neo-fascist National Democratic Party of (West) Germany (NPD) which was founded in November 1964, received more than one million votes in the provincial diet elections in Hesse and Bavaria at the end of 1966. This amounts to more votes than the nazi party was able to get at the Reichstag elections in the Germany of that time in 1928. At present the NPD has 27 mandates in West German provincial parliaments and more than 103 seats in municipal parliaments. It is reckoned in West Germany that at present about 2.5 to 3 million electors back the NPD.

Twenty years after the defeat of Hitler fascism by the anti-Hitler coalition, an openly neo-nazi party is making a spectacular appearance on West Germany's political scene.

The entire policy hitherto pursued by West German monopoly capital, with the aid of the western occupation powers since 1945, the setting up of a state monopoly system of power provided the breeding-ground, climate and atmosphere for the growing influence of old and new nazis in West Germany.

In essence, the theses of the official policy of the Bonn government, the revanchist demands for a revision of the borders as well as the results of the Second World War, the sole representation pretension, the federal

German striving for hegemony in Europe and the neo-colonialist practices fully corresponded in the whole period to the political conceptions of all the extreme right-wing, nationalistic and neo-nazi forces.

Ever since the defeat of the nazi regime, extreme right-wing and fascist forces have repeatedly made an attempt to rally supporters and gain political influence. The most important stages of this process are marked by the foundation of the following organizations:

the "Deutsche Partei" (DP), June 1945,
the "Wirtschaftliche Aufbau-Vereinigung" (Economic Construction Association) (WAV) in December 1945,
the "Sozialistische Reichspartei" (SRP), October 1949,
the "Gesamtdeutscher Block/Bund der Heimatvertriebenen und Entrechteten" (All-German Bloc/Federation of Persons Expelled from their Homeland and Persons Deprived of Their Rights) (GB/BHE), January 1950,
the "Deutsche Reichspartei" (DRP), January 1950 and
the "Gesamtdeutsche Partei" (All-German Party) (GPD), April 1961.

These extreme right-wing and neo-nazi groupings and parties, however, did not succeed in gaining the desired political influence. Frequent controversies within the organizations merely brought forth temporary results of their reactionary activity which was often enough

THE GUARDIAN
November 21 1966

New gains by
the German
extremists

ENTENNES NATIONALES - DES SUISSAIS - TUNIS

NYNAZISTERNAS
VINST I BAYERN
OROAR VÄRLDEN

The Daily Telegraph

NEO-NAZI SUCCESS
IN BAVARIA

PRÁCE
Hnědýstín Mnichova

Volební úspěch NPD je výsledkem dlouholeté politiky CDU/CSU. Politiky nenávistného antikomunismu, boje proti levicovým a pokrokovým složkám a činnosti bývalých nacistických prominentů, jakým byl například Adenauerův státní sekretář Globke.

Hrozba nacismu

SVENSKA DAGBLADET

Nynazistiska hotet
underskattas i Bonn
Oroad världsopinion

LE FIGARO

MARDI 22 NOVEMBRE 1966

QUINZE
députés N. D. P.

(NÉO-NAZIS)

**A LA DIÈTE
BAVAROISE**

Scinteia SE VOR TRAGE CONCLUZII

26 noiembrie 1966

REALISTE LA BONN?

ПРАВДА

Воскресенье, 29 января 1967 г.

**З А Я В Л Е Н И Е
СОВЕТСКОГО ПРАВИТЕЛЬСТВА**

Le Monde

MARDI 22 NOVEMBRE 1966

**M. Strauss est devenu l'arbitre
de la crise politique allemande**

NEW YORK
Herald Tribune
European Edition

PARIS, MONDAY, NOVEMBER 21, 1966

**Neo-Nazi Party Wins Foothold
In Bavarian State Legislature**

**NEW VICTORY
SPURS ON THE
NAZIS**

SUN

di 19
inche 20
mbre 1966
.972

COMBAT

**La Bavière dicte demain à Bonn
la composition du futur
gouvernement allemand**

● L'INCONNUE DES ELECTIONS : LES PROGRES DES NEO-NAZIS

Neue Zürcher Zeitung

22. November 1966

Die NPD im bayrischen Landtag

Absolute Mehrheit der CSU - Ausscheiden der FDP

**QUINZE NÉO-NAZIS
ENTRENT AU PARLEMENT
DE BAVÈRE**

existența unui partid de tip neonazist, care duce o agitație demagogică într-o atmosferă politică încărcată de confuzie, constituie o primejdie potențială care nu poate fi subestimată.

"The pike is missing from the fish pond", announces this
NPD leaflet. Today pike—tomorrow shark?

Es fehlt der Hecht im Karpfenteich!



NATIONALDEMOKRATEN

confined to certain areas of West Germany. The organizations were seriously affected by symptoms of disbandment, barely existed or fell completely apart.

The so-called National Democratic Party, however, took an alarmingly steep rise right after its establishment. Hardly one year after its foundation on 28-29 November 1964 it took part in the Bundestag elections in September 1965. The party succeeded in putting up candidates in 247 out of 248 constituencies and received 600,000 votes.

The membership increased very rapidly—from 473 in November 1964 to 25,419 in December 1966. The editions of periodicals published by the NPD increased by five-fold between 1965 and 1966.

The NPD has a rigidly organized party apparatus. The rapid growth of the openly neo-nazi party is due to the present situation of West German monopoly capital. The rapid sharpening of the contradictions inherent in the imperialist West German system accelerates the process.

Economic difficulties and symptoms of political crisis make the conditions for the existence of the Bonn rule more complicated. The instability of the imperialist system has grown. The policy of the powers that be in West Germany has landed in a blind alley.

By means of methods of rule and political tactics employed up to now, the bourgeoisie cannot implement its excessive unrealistic foreign policy aims or its reactionary home policy.

In the interest of realizing its exorbitant claims for profit and power, it turns towards a new nazism.

In his book *Entwurf für Europa* (Draft for Europe), published by the Seewald publishing house, Stuttgart, in 1966 and sold in England already one year ago, Franz-Josef Strauss, chairman of the CSU and key figure in the present Bonn government, announced an official West German policy of a neo-nazi character: "German day-to-day policy cannot rely exclusively on programs which merely represent the opposite of everything Hitler had done." (p. 151)

The policy pursued by the Kiesinger/Strauss government proves that this is being put into practice. This is why the powers that be in West Germany need an openly neo-nazi party.

This is the real reason for the present rapidly increasing influence of the neo-nazi NPD.

Professor Werner Hofmann of the University of Marburg characterizes the role of the NPD within the system of political power of West German monopoly capital as follows:

"Right-wing extremism is always stimulated when an existing right-wing policy meets with a reverse... It is a new phenomenon that right-wing radicalism turns from being an appendage of ruling policy into an independent driving force; one will have to refer to it." (*Frankfurter Rundschau*, 3 January 1967)

On 17 February 1967 Professor Peter von Oertzen, Technical College, Hanover said:

"The real danger for the Federal Republic consists in

the fact that the big parties pursue a policy which in fact includes the demands of the NPD. There is not one important point in the program and not one important political argument of the NPD which could not also be found in the programs of the Bonn parties, even though differently distributed."

The old nazi Emil Maier-Dorn, member of the executive committee of the NPD, confirmed these connections in his own way at an election meeting in Schleswig-Holstein, when he declared for the openly neo-nazi NPD: "We have the brown colour from the black of the CDU."

The NPD was founded in the interest of certain parts of West German monopoly capital, supported and promoted by them and their government with the sole aim of bringing about an official neo-nazi policy of the government and hastening the process of developing neo-fascism in West Germany.

Practical developments show that the NPD, as an openly neo-nazi party, has above all to fulfil the following functions within the ruling system of West German imperialism: It provides the ruling reactionary forces with the excuse for tightening up their own political course. This is being done according to the recipe divulged by Dr. Walter Becher, CSU member of parliament, at the "Conference of the staff of the Federation of Expelled Persons" on 5-6 October 1963 in Wiesbaden: "The political right-wing—the extreme right-wing Federation of Expelled Persons always needs to be two tones louder than the federal government, so that the federal government may become one tone louder." (*Neue Kommentare*, Frankfurt-on-Main, 1963, No. 21)

With a pseudo-radical opposition from the right it is to act as collecting centre for the forces which are dissatisfied with the policy of the government and prevent a migration to the left. It is to tie petty bourgeois circles in particular to ruling monopoly capital and to the ever more reactionary political course.

Finally it is used as a weapon against the working class, especially the trade unions. The most reactionary top bodies of armament and finance capital at present direct their strongest attacks against the DGB and its trade unions through the NPD.

THE MASTERS OF NEO-NAZISM

When the extreme right-wing forces of all shades, the old and new nazis appeared on the political scene of the Federal Republic in the form of the NPD, they considered it unnecessary to camouflage their nazi convictions and aims. Many of them believed that an openly fascist and brutal bearing was immediately expected from them. This is proved by the following examples from NPD meetings: "Emigrants and resistance fighters are traitors. In the hour of need they betrayed the fatherland and collaborated with the enemies of Germany, they shunned their national duty. They deserve to

be taken to court." (Hans Modschiedler, NPD on 14 May 1965 in the "Mathäser am Hasenberg" restaurant in Munich)

On 1 March 1966 there was an NPD meeting in Munich, in the "Lohengrin" restaurant in the Türkenstrasse. The following was said by one of the participants in the discussion:

"When I saw the Asiatic hordes, I said: 'Boys, shoot until the barrel of your machine-guns is red hot.' When the Asiatic hordes had come, we knew that we were fighting for our mothers and our daughters."

The aims of the open neo-nazis become quite plain from the words of one of their chief ideologists: "Eger was the centre of the Reich. If we open the map of Central Germany, put the compasses right on the point of Eger and measure in all directions we find that Eger lies right in the middle between Treves and Ratibor, between Stettin and Bozen, between Cuxhaven and Marburg-on-Drau, between Mühlhausen in Alsace and the West Prussian Schneidemühl, beyond which there still extends a particularly wide area of German land. In such a way the compasses reach right up to Saarbrücken and Oppeln, to Hamburg and Villach in Carinthia, to Zurich and Posen." (Wilhelm Pleyer on 11 October 1965 in the 1st Program of West German television)

On 29 August 1965 the chairman of the NPD, Friedrich Thielen and other NPD leaders went to the cemetery of Landsberg to visit the graves of fascists sentenced and executed in 1946 by the International Military Tribunal of Nuremberg for their crimes against international law. Friedrich Thielen and Franz-Florian Winter laid wreaths on the graves. Winter, who has in the meantime left the party, made the following statement on television: "We paid homage here to all those who lost their lives through force, for reasons of arbitrariness and lust for power. Whereas those victims are more often commemorated in Dachau or Bergen-Belsen before the whole world, these graves here in Landsberg, where also in some parts quite innocent people are buried, are visited by nobody. We are doing it."

(*Deutsche Nachrichten*, Hanover, 3 September 1965)

The London *Times* commented:

"Whose arbitrary sentences and lust for power? Is it a coincidence that Landsberg was the place where Hitler was arrested in 1924 and where he wrote *Mein Kampf*?" (*The Times*, 30 November 1966)

In the old style, the neo-nazis openly behaved as anti-Semites and clearly acknowledged the Hitler-party "The war was lost because of the enemy from within and because of international Jewry, whose aim it was to annihilate Germany as an independent nation. (Peter Stöckicht, member of the NPD Executive Committee, on 16 July 1965 at the Munich "Hackerkeller")

"There were no crimes in national-socialist Germany. These slanders are only the propaganda of international Jewry and the Jewish press." (Josef Truxa, regional

chairman of the NPD in Munich, on 18 June 1965 at an NPD meeting in Munich)

"I am an old member of the NSDAP and I feel proud that I was allowed to help in bringing about such a great political change." (Professor Felix von Bormann at the First Conference of the NPD on 8 May 1965 in Hanover)

Addressing the old nazis NPD-Spokesman Heinz von Arndt said on 16 August 1965 in Munich: "We are making territorial demands in Europe and want a system of our own shaping. Comrades, we will win if we remain true to ourselves."

Employers' Associations Intervene

These shrill nazi tones and the openly fascist bearing of NPD functionaries threatened to thwart the plans of leading circles of West German monopoly capital. It prevented them from using the NPD to bind dissatisfied parts of the West German people to their ever-more reactionary policy. This became obvious during the 1965 Bundestag elections when the NPD, despite great expenditures, received a mere two per cent of the votes.

But without a certain influence on the masses, the NPD cannot fulfil the functions assigned to it by the most reactionary part of armament and finance capital. Therefore the "Federal Association of (West) German Employers' Unions (BDA)" intervened. In April 1966 the BDA periodical *Der Arbeitgeber*, Düsseldorf, published two articles in which monopoly capital made clear that it was greatly interested in the development of the NPD. It is symbolical that the two articles were published precisely on 20 April, Hitler's birthday. The advice and instructions given by the employers' association is obviously meant as a birthday present for the NPD. But there were not just hints for the NPD leadership. The federal government and the CDU/CSU were also given their instructions. In the course of this, the entire conception of monopoly capital in regard to the role of the NPD was developed. The leading monopoly association clearly acknowledges the NPD and brands all opponents of the neo-nazis.

The article by the editor-in-chief Dr. Jürgen Heinrichsbauer, entitled "Is 'national' a disaster?", states: "Our expression of opinion begins with the fact that we—in contrast to the biggest part of the editorials, commentaries and glosses published in the press—do not hold the final view, until such time as the opposite has been proved, that the NPD is the 'successor organization of the NSDAP' ... and that its spokesmen, supporters and electors are 'neo-fascists', 'right-wing radicals', 'nazis' or 'nationalists'. Whoever judges like this and does not want to be suspected of forming his political opinion exclusively according to the ideas of, for instance, Messrs. Hochhuth, Weiss, Neuss & Co., must be reminded that this kind of 'analyses' of the NPD takes things a little too easily since they either

interpret the motives of the NPD too one-sidedly or entirely misunderstand the mentality of its voters."

The paper regrets the insufficient effectiveness of the neo-nazis. Heinrichsbauer writes: "It is not because we regard the NPD as merely disguised nazis, but because we do *not* regard it as such, that we come to grips with the party here, for it seems to us that the roots of this party are to be found just here, *whose tangibility we do not want to evaluate here and at this moment* (emphasis by the editor)."

Hence the arguments of the NPD do not always have the necessary "tangibility".

For that reason monopoly capital indirectly instructed the NPD to avoid an openly fascist bearing and to make use of democratic camouflage, in order to make it "fit for society", in Bonn's meaning of the word, and turn it into a more effective instrument in the hands of big industry and high finance. Heinrichsbauer writes: "Some of these people today again brag by using the notorious terms of 'dividing', 'reporting' and 'appointing'; others seem to have been sensible enough to realize that national consciousness and a democratic form of state do not exclude one another by any means. It is therefore just the latter who take great pains to maintain the democratic rules of the game."

It could scarcely be clearer. It is a matter of camouflaging the neo-nazis by way of "maintaining the democratic rules of the game". Only in this way can they be of use to the monopolies. He goes on to say: "The big percentage of young people who are at least willing to listen to the NPD speakers (a fact which means quite a lot, at a time of almost complete political indifference among young people) might be attributed to the perceptible endeavours of the moderate NPD representatives, *to become fit for a democratic society* (emphasis by the editor)."

But this kind of making young people unpolitical, and not only young people alone, has previously been brought about purposely by the rulers in Bonn. The NPD leadership was now given the instruction to concentrate especially on these circles of society. The openly nazi bearing would, however, shock these "unpolitical-minded people"; therefore the NPD had to act as though it was "fit for a democratic society". This is the kind of crafty tactics followed by the neo-nazis and their backers, in order to gain a massive influence among the West German people. The second article in the same *Arbeitgeber* edition reveals that the employers' organization had tested these tactics in a number of meetings with young West German participants.

The political direction intended for the NPD by monopoly capital is further described in the article by Heinrichsbauer in the periodical *Arbeitgeber*: "Almost overnight it (the NPD-editor) has become the hope of the national-conservatives... maybe even a little like a pike in a fishpond."

Almost on behalf of the neo-nazis, the paper of the monopolies asks for leniency for future hitches. After

the NPD is instructed to become fit for society, it is said:

"... whereby we realize that the task is a difficult one and that an ideal solution will probably never be attained."

The article also includes directions as to the bearing of the West German parties, above all the CDU/CSU: "... the managers of the mass parties will have to have some good ideas in order to take the wind out of the sails of presumptive right-wing extremists by carefully forming a reasonable national feeling."

Hence the leading forces of the West German parties are to use the existence of the NPD to incite nationalism and to further aggravate their own course. A ban of the NPD is not at all taken into consideration. The parties are recommended to "have the courage for objective discussions".

Professor Fritz Burgbacher, prominent representative of the monopolies and treasurer of the CDU—obviously to justify such direct political intervention by the employers' association—writes in the November–December 1966 edition of the CDU-periodical *Die politische Meinung*: "The preoccupation with socio-political problems is not only a moral duty of the employer, it also corresponds to his interest in his social standing. What we need is not less, but more political influence of the employers in all spheres of our society."

Backing by the Government

Like the leading monopoly association the Bonn government takes care to push the open neo-nazi party into the position desired by big capital. It is not accidental that of all people the West German minister of the interior has especially distinguished himself in this activity. He publicly encouraged the neo-nazis and sharply criticized their opponents, above all the West German trade unions, for their adverse attitude towards the NPD. In view of the nationalist and neo-nazi wave in West Germany, Federal Minister of the Interior Paul Lücke declared on 10 April 1966, almost at the same time of the declaration of the BDA, in the Hamburg illustrated paper *Stern*: "I want our people to deal with the theme and discuss it in public, that is, in NPD meetings politicians of other parties, men and women who are democratically-minded, should clearly voice their opinion."

West German Minister of the Interior Paul Lücke is thus campaigning for the NPD and instructing his political friends to cooperate in making the NPD presentable. The neo-nazis should not have any difficulties in developing in the interests of monopoly capital. Lücke is opposed to the trade unionists breaking up the meetings of the neo-nazis. Replying to *Stern's* question "Does it meet with your approval that in Krefeld some trade unionists have tried to break up an NPD

meeting by songs and shouts of 'Out with the nazis'?', he said: "The NPD should be ready for a discussion. Perhaps it would be possible that way to develop into a national-conservative party which is loyal to the Constitution. In that case very likely the trade unionists would stop disturbing them. Actually I do not think meetings should be broken up." (*Stern*, Hamburg, 10 April 1966)

In fact, such discussions with the NPD have already been held with the participation of important Bonn politicians in Hamburg and other West German cities, in which representatives of the Bonn parties clearly advised the NPD, quite in the sense of the central organization of the employers' associations, to adopt a "national-conservative" character.

Lücke encouraged the neo-nazis in the already quoted *Stern* interview by opposing a ban of the NPD. He declared demagogically: "Our strength also consists in openly discussing our weaknesses. For this reason I am not in favour of rash bans."

In this way the federal government, through its Minister of the Interior Lücke, repeatedly assured the NPD that it would not be banned if it took the direction suggested by monopoly capital and the federal government. Only on 9 February 1967 did Lücke once more speak in this sense: "Whether the federal government will decide to appeal to the Federal Constitutional Court for a ban on the NPD will depend on the development of this party." (*Innere Sicherheit-Informationen zu Fragen des Staatsschutzes*, Cologne, 1967, No. 1)

Several times leading CDU/CSU politicians have demagogically declared that the "NPD must be given the chance to do objective parliamentary work" so that one can examine the character of this party. Obviously the CDU/CSU leadership is interested in making the NPD fit for a coalition. With regret Strauss stated: "At present the NPD is not in a condition which I would call suitable for a coalition." (*Stern*, Hamburg, 1 January 1967)

In this sense the CDU/CSU politicians encourage the neo-nazis who already have seats in some parliaments. Proof for this was given by Bavarian Prime Minister Alfons Goppel on the occasion of the first visit of the NPD parliamentary group leader in the provincial diet of Bavaria, Dr. Siegfried Pöhlmann. The *Deutsche Nachrichten*, Hanover, triumphantly wrote on 3 February 1967:

"From the formal meeting resulted a conclusive, political talk of 20 minutes during which the prime minister stated that he considered the NPD a legal constitutional party which he was also going to treat as such."

This benevolent attitude of important CSU politicians in Bavaria also explains the fact that the neo-nazi NPD was even able to delegate two representatives to the Bavarian Constitutional Court. According to an "Associated Press" report from Munich on 18 February 1967 they were Wolfgang Huber, deputy chairman of the NPD arbitration court for Bavaria, and the former head

of the NPD regional organization of Munich-Süd, Rudolf Dettweiler.

In the municipal parliament of Roth near Nuremberg a group community of the CSU, FDP and NPD was formed at the end of February 1967.

This shows that the CSU, the chairman of which is Bonn Minister of Finance Franz-Josef Strauss, has resorted to open collaboration with the NPD.

NPD Obeys

The intervention by the Federal Association of German Employers' Unions and the federal government has been noted with satisfaction in the NPD leadership.

The big bourgeois newspaper *Handelsblatt*, Düsseldorf, wrote on the subject on 9 May 1966: "As can be heard in Bonn, the *Arbeitgeber* articles have been noted with satisfaction in the NPD leadership. One seems to hope there that it will induce not a few employers to donate money to the party, alone for the reason that after reading these articles one can never know whether the NPD after all might not succeed one day in taking the hurdle of the five-per-cent clause."

The assumption of the Düsseldorf *Handelsblatt* that monopoly capital was financing the neo-nazi NPD, is substantiated by the amazingly quick reaction of the NPD leadership to the intervention of the Federal Association of (West) German Employers' Unions and the Bonn minister of the interior. The leaders of the NPD obviously fear that industry will turn off the financial tap if the party does not comply with its demands.

Immediately after the Lücke interview was published in *Stern* on 10 April 1966 and the article in *Arbeitgeber* on 20 April 1966 the organizational department of the party executive sent the circular Org. 4/66 "To all branches of the NPD" on 3 May 1966. This circular provided the clear proof that the NPD is being guided, encouraged and promoted by monopoly capital and the Bonn government. It reads in part:

"The federal minister of the interior already said in his interview with *Stern* that he did not approve of the disturbances by the DGB and that the NPD would have to be defeated by genuine arguments. The parties should come to our meetings for discussions. In addition to the request to ban the NPD quickly, similar tendencies have already been voiced by SPD and CDU circles. We welcome such a development in the knowledge of the strength of our arguments... A certain change has been noticeable recently in press reports on the NPD."

Lücke's attitude even encouraged the NPD leadership to start attacking trade unionists. They had the impudence-conscious of Bonn Minister of the Interior Paul Lücke's support—to refer to the Federal German legislation:

"Independent of this officials of the Trade Union Federation repeatedly try to break up meetings. All organizations have the right to hold meetings which

are directed at preventing disturbances but not to encourage them. Therefore an attempt should be made to find out the names of disturbers in such cases and report them to the police in accordance with the law on meetings. The law is clearly on our side . . ."

Furthermore the NPD stated in the circular:

"According to the principles which the Federal Constitutional Court . . . has established, not the slightest prerequisites exist for banning the NPD. This applies to the program and thus the political aims of the party and finally it also applies to the practice of the party's leadership. There is no danger threatening the NPD here."

Corresponding to the demands of the Federal Association of (West) German Employers' Unions and the federal government, it is being explained to the party branches what might thwart the order of monopoly capital for the NPD: "In such proceedings the Federal Constitutional Court, however, would also have to judge the so-called 'attitude of the followers', in which case this conception is not only restricted to the members but goes beyond them."

In another place the NPD executive circular states: "Although a certain number of corresponding incidents could not lead to a ban of the NPD, it could serve as a basis for a relevant cabinet decision. This would charge the Federal Ministry of the Interior in Karlsruhe with making a corresponding request. Such a cabinet decision would paralyze party work for months."

All branches of the NPD were given instructions to follow the advice of the employers' associations and the federal government and to avoid an open nazi attitude. At first, naturally, communist agents and agents provocateur are to be made responsible for such an attitude of old and new nazis as far as possible. "We must, however, also defend ourselves against agents and agents provocateur who would like to become active in the NPD in accordance with their instructions and who would do considerable damage, if the whole party does not immediately and emphatically oppose such elements or remove them from its ranks." The circular continues: "In the case of such incidents, in addition to the provincial union also the party executive is to be informed immediately, if necessary by telephone, so that action can be taken quickly . . . The provincial and regional branches have been instructed to pay special attention to these things."

In the old nazi style it is said: "All officials and members of our party should give strict attention to defending the interests and the prestige of the party . . .

"Every leader of a meeting, even the smallest one, therefore has the duty emphatically to oppose corresponding remarks, discussions, contributions or interruptions, if harm to the party is threatened."

Die-hard old nazis who are unable to understand this demagogic tactic will be threatened with expulsion from the party in line with the party executive's circular.

"Wherever such elements may appear . . . they are to

be emphatically rejected and if necessary removed from meetings. Should this even be the case with members, they are to be immediately expelled by the competent organs."

Old nazis would not forbid old nazis to talk if they were not forced to do so from outside. Drastic evidence of this was supplied by NPD member Walter Leupold of Bayreuth. Asked about his attitude towards Jews he said: "We were told by the top leaders of the party not to express our opinion on this subject. People who do that are inept." (*Die Welt*, West Berlin, 29 March 1966)

Otto Hess, member of the NPD party presidium, warned party officials against an open nazi attitude on 8 January 1967 at the provincial meeting of the provincial NPD branch of Rhineland-Palatinate. But his words contained a threat: "We are not able to talk frankly at present, but one day we shall be able to do so." (*Innere Sicherheit-Informationen zu Fragen des Staatsschutzes*, Cologne, 1967, No. 1)

Demagogy at the 2nd Congress of the NPD

At the Karlsruhe NPD congress held from 17 to 19 June 1966, hardly eight weeks after the publication of the *Arbeitgeber* articles, the NPD undertook a first big attempt to trim its program democratically according to the wishes of monopoly capital. To this end "Notes on the Manifesto and Principles of the NPD" were issued.

Suddenly voices like the following were heard from the NPD camp:

"We national democrats support parliamentary democracy out of conviction . . . It overcomes the spirit of submission and creates the indissoluble unity of people and state. Therefore we, the national democrats, express our avowal to the Basic Law of the Federal Republic of Germany, because it creates the prerequisites for forming an active democracy in Germany. (*Anmerkungen zum Manifest und zu den Grundsätzen der NPD, in Politik in unserer Zeit*, Hanover, 1966)

It is the NPD's intention to use the few remains of bourgeois democracy in West Germany in the same sense and with the same aim as the nazis did in the Weimar democracy. On the tactics of the nazis of employing democracy to feign a so-called legal takeover of power, Goebbels wrote in the nazi organ *Der Angriff*, Berlin, already in 1928: "We are entering the Reichstag in order to supply ourselves from the arsenal of democracy with its own weapons. We are becoming Reichstag deputies in order to paralyze the Weimar attitude with its own help. If democracy is foolish enough to give us free fares and expenses for this service, then that is its own affair. We welcome every legal means to revolutionize the present state. Mussolini also went into parliament . . . We are coming as enemies!

Like the wolf breaking into a herd of sheep, so are we coming. Now you are no longer among yourselves."

The NPD does not appear as a "wolf in a herd of sheep" as the NSDAP did, but as "a pike in the carp pond".

Friedrich Thielen demanded democratic rights and liberties for him and his followers at the 2nd party congress:

"...the Basic Law expressly guarantees freedom of speech, but where does it say that there are to be no democratic liberties for national federal citizens?" He asks for "unceasingly continued work until success has also been achieved on the federal level." (F. Thielen, "Eighteen Months of the NPD, On the Threshold of Responsibility", speech at the 2nd NPD congress, material from the congress).

Thielen revealed that after all it was the NPD's aim to use the remains of bourgeois democracy in order to help erect an unrestricted dictatorship of monopoly capital in West Germany. Goebbels called this "revolutionizing the present state", Thielen calls it "fundamentally changing the political relations of power". In his already quoted speech at the 2nd NPD congress he said:

"Political developments are assisting us. It is our task to expand the NPD so that it is a clean reservoir for those Germans who reject the old parties. From these two prerequisites results the possibility for a fundamental change in the political relations of power in the Federal Republic."

The West German imperialists need neo-nazism internally in order thereby to create new prerequisites for the realization of their expansive and revanchist plans externally.

Nevertheless not all neo-nazis have allowed themselves to be bound by the "national conservative" demagoguery demanded by monopoly capital. Federal Chancellor Kiesinger and Minister of the Interior Lücke again attempted at the beginning of 1967 by their bearing to enforce the variation of neo-nazism wished by them and to make it clear to the neo-nazis that they can fulfil their role only if they present themselves outwardly as being "suitable for democratic society". Against this background a new open dispute broke out in the NPD in March 1967 on the question of the tactics

the neo-nazi party should use to increase its influence and how it can best do justice to the demands of monopoly capital.

THE PROGRAMMING OF A NEW MYTHOLOGY

The gentlemen of big industry and the big banks want to put a few democratic patches on the NPD's brown coat—but it remains threadbare: the nakedness of nazism cannot be covered up.

The program of the NPD is contained in the "Manifesto of the NPD" and in the "Principles of our Policy" and in the "Notes on the Manifesto and on the Principles of the NPD".

Like the NSDAP program it is a conglomeration of the most diverse demands. The overall objective of the party is not defined.

Nationalism of Hitlerite coinage forms the actual platform of this party.

The ideology which the NPD has to offer is a fresh brew of Rosenberg's racial theory, summarized in Ernst Anrich's speech at the 2nd party congress. Comparisons between the theses of this speech with key theses from Alfred Rosenberg's *Myth of the 20th Century* prove the identity of the NPD's world outlook with that of the Hitler fascists.

Ernst Anrich, the chief ideologist of the NPD, propagates in an unadulterated form the dangerous racial theory and the nazi equation between race, people and state in the same manner as the chief ideologist of the nazis had done. In the following confrontation Rosenberg is quoted from Alfred Rosenberg, *Der Mythos des 20. Jahrhunderts*, (The Myth of the 20th Century), Hoheneichen Verlag, Munich, 1934, and Anrich from Ernst Anrich, "Man—People—State and Democracy", speech at the 2nd NPD congress, *Deutsche Nachrichten*, Hanover, 24 July 1966.

The following confrontation of the theses of Alfred Rosenberg (NSDAP) and Ernst Anrich (NPD) speaks for itself. The similarity of these "ideological" conceptions becomes obvious to the reader without difficulties just as conclusions may easily be made with regard to the actual character of this so-called national democratic party.

Rosenberg: "On an unconscious level man in cult and life performs the commandments of the blood so to speak in a dreamy sleep, 'naturally visible' as a lucky word describes this accord between nature and civilization." (p. 22)

Anrich: "'Research in the field of modern depth psychology' has shown that the individual man, the so-called individual, is to a far higher degree part and organ of this 'it' of mankind—and that the individual human being can only develop his special individuality on and with and in these grounds . . .

An entity, just this 'it' of mankind, is there before every one and prior to all individual beings and all groups of men. For this reason the community is

Rosenberg: "Long ago we had to give believing in a homogeneous arising of myths, art and religious forms among all peoples . . . The strictly founded evidence . . . has . . . proved that most fundamental myths have a certain point of radiation, the locality of their creation, that they appeared understandable in their outward form also from a certain environment, so that also for most primeval times big migrations of the races and peoples are a certainty." (p. 24)

Rosenberg: "These migrations we call: the migration of the Atlantic peoples, veiled in sagas, across North Africa; the migration of the Aryans to Persia-India . . ., the migration of the Germanic peoples, the colonialization of the world by the occident determined by Germanism. (p. 28)

"Therefore racial history is natural history and the mystic of the soul at the same time, the history of the religion of the blood is on the other hand the great world tale of the rise and downfall of the peoples . . ." (p. 23)

"The dream of Nordic mankind was most beautifully dreamt in Hellas." (p. 34)

"Nowhere does the impartial Nordic rejection of all magic become evident more clearly and greatly than in the religious values of Greece which are still given too little attention." (p. 35)

Rosenberg: "There then grows out of this fundamental ideology the entire new system of thought and state based on the recognition that peoples with healthy blood do not know individualism as a yardstick . . ." (p. 539)

"This racial dominant demands a type. And a genuine organic liberty is only possible within such a type. Freedom of the soul like freedom of the personality is always a shape, shape is always plastically limited. This limitation is racially conditioned." (p. 529)

The fact that an old nazi is today permitted at a party congress in West Germany to proclaim in public the most evil nazi theses as the program of a party permitted in the Bonn state without this party being banned on the spot, significantly characterizes the ruling system of this state. The fact that in view of this openly visible neo-nazi character of the NPD the competent representative of the West German federal government, Federal Minister of the Interior Lücke, repeatedly refuses to ban the NPD only proves that this development is desired by the ruling forces in West Germany.

That is also an expression of the fact that neo-nazism does not limit itself to the NPD, but embraces to an increasing degree the whole West German system of monopoly capitalist rule.

This identity of "world outlook" between the NPD and the NSDAP is reflected in their programmatic ideas in all areas of politics.

The NPD's concept of the state is the nazi concept of the state!

community and not society and is there before the individual and before all individuals. A community therefore is not decided on but germinates."

Anrich: "The basic order and community of mankind did not germinate in completely equal areas, in sub-forms and subcommunities, in races with differing physical and mental dispositions of style of expression and expansion."

Anrich: "If one pursues history from this point over the millenia, then a further vital concretization results. It becomes evident how in connection with the growth and big geological tremors racial groups began moving, how races met, how they combated each other, permeating and thereafter separating again in certain regions and how after periods of dissolution all at once (most easily visible in the origin of Greek history) a certain marked and marking power becomes evident to a growing extent."

Anrich: "Such a truth is appearing, organic and active, that a people is more than the number of those living at present, more, too, than the sum of past generations: that is the state . . . The state is higher than man and than the mass of people living at present, it exercises sovereignty over them, for it represents the entirety of the people . . ."

NSDAP: In the middle of April 1932 Goebbels glorified the Prussian state as the ideal of a nazi state in an election speech:

"If every citizen of a nation is permeated by the principle that in my state the valid principle is, 'To each his own', in my state social justice and pureness prevail... then without propaganda having to be made, each one would declare his faith in the state with inner joy."

"In old Prussia the wise saying was... 'Be more than the appearance'." (*Goebbels spricht, Reden aus Kampf und Sieg*, Oldenburg, 1933, p. 35)

NPD: The programmatic principles of the NPD begin almost word for word with the two sentences of nazi Reich Propaganda Minister Goebbels:

"Germany needs a state which creates the communal spirit between the natural authority of a real democracy and the personal freedom of decision of the citizen, which gives 'To Each His Own' in social justice. Germany needs a state which is based on the position 'Be More Than the Appearance'."

(*Grundsätze unserer Politik*, Hanover, 1965, emphasis in the original)

"The Prussian state with its territorial position and its official machinery is gone—the Prussian state concept, however, remains imperishable."

(*Deutsche Nachrichten*, Hanover, 17 February 1967, p. 6)

The revanchist territorial claims of the NPD are based on the nazi theory of "people without space":

NSDAP: "We demand land to feed and settle our excess population." (*Das Programm der NSDAP, Wesen, Grundsätze und Ziele der Nationalsozialistischen Deutschen Arbeiterpartei*, Munich, February 1920, special issue of the NSDAP.)

NPD: "Germany has a right to the territories in which the German people have grown for centuries."

(*Grundsätze unserer Politik*, Hanover, 1965)

Like the nazis the neo-nazis try to conceal their great power aims under the flag of self-determination:

NSDAP: "We demand the confederation of all Germans into a Greater Germany on the basis of self-determination." (*Das Programm der NSDAP*... op. cit.)

NPD: "We demand the exertion of all forces to awaken the will to self-determination of the German nation." (*Grundsätze unserer Politik*, loc. cit.)

NSDAP: "It is clear that under no circumstances does our opponent want our continent to find a collective approach to the most elementary vital questions. We know that our country can exist and prosper only in a healthy European continent..." (J. Goebbels, *Die Vision eines neuen Europa*, 1942)

NPD: "Powers alien to space are placing the peoples of Europe under tutelage and collectively maintaining the division of Germany for their own political ends..."

"The free will of the peoples of Europe must once more replace the domination of foreign great powers." (*Manifest der NPD in Grundsätze unserer Politik*, op. cit.)

The NPD's glorification of the military past is in no way different to the practices of the Hitler fascists:

NSDAP: "The Wehrmacht is the arms bearer of the German people. It protects the German Reich and fatherland, the people united in national socialism and their living space. The roots of its strength lie in a glorious past, in German folkdom, in German soil and in German labour." (Point 1 of the "Duties of the German soldier", 1939)

NPD: "The courageous behaviour of German soldiers of all times must be the ideal of the Bundeswehr. Military service is honourable service... As long as the fathers are openly branded as criminals, the sons can never become good soldiers." (*Grundsätze unserer Politik*, op. cit.)

Like the nazis, the neo-nazis in Bonn are pursuing the aim of destroying democracy and bringing West German society into line with the nazi idea of the "folk community", and of creating an unlimited dictatorship of the reactionary forces of monopoly capitalism:

NSDAP: "We demand the unconditional political authority of the central parliament over the whole Reich"

NPD: "The Germans have become accustomed to the democratic system. I believe that no one wants anything"

and its organizations. We combat the corrupting parliament..."

(*Das Programm der NSDAP*... op. cit.)

NSDAP: "We demand a ruthless struggle against those people who destroy the interest of the community with their activity. We demand the creation of class and professional chambers for carrying through the framework law decreed by the Reich in the individual provincial states."

(*Das Programm der NSDAP*, op. cit.)

else. The question, however, is whether the tasks can be solved in a democracy or not."

(A. von Thadden, deputy chairman of the NPD, on 24 November 1966 in the second program of West German television)

NPD: "As social partners, trade unions and employers' associations are there to create the necessary equality of interests and industrial peace. Therein lay their tasks, not in the presumption of political privileges.

"The economy and its organs serve the state and people not the contrary."

(*Grundsätze unserer Politik*, op. cit.)

FINANCING BY BIG INDUSTRY

According to their own reports the NPD has collected a total of 331,310 marks from its foundation to 31 December 1965 inclusive. However, the party spent 1,517,758 marks for the Bundestag elections. This fact alone allows one to conclude that there are secret financial sources. According to statements of leading NPD functionaries many West German factory owners and big share-holders gave contributions to the NPD. The individual sums were never under 10,000 marks.

A veil of strict secrecy is drawn over the financial help of the West German monopoly capitalists for the NPD, just as it was with the financing of the Hitler party by German big business. However, similar press releases as in the above-mentioned *Handelsblatt*, indicate that big industry and high finance in West Germany have opened the money tap to the neo-nazis. Large monopolies are already going over to financing the NPD publicly through advertisements.

Most alarming is the information which was launched in the press at the beginning of 1967 as a tip for all who did not yet understand what powerful financial forces stand behind the NPD: Rudolf-August Oetker, ruler of the giant Oetker trust which includes some 100 large undertakings, and a turnover of thousands of millions conferred with Friedrich Thielen. The former NPD provincial chairman of North Rhine-Westphalia, Karl Walrad Prinz zu Solms who is married to one of Oetker's divorced wives, arranged the meeting in his home. In his own home in Hamburg, "The Bost", Oetker—whose economic field includes pudding factories, champagne cellars, breweries as well as large shipping companies and sanatoria, private banking houses and insurance companies—received the Hamburg NPD chairman, Horst Günter Schweimer.

The financial support which private circles provide for the NPD through announcements of the so-called action "common sense" (a welfare organisation), is very skilfully concealed. The honorary president of this association is the wife of the West German federal

president and former concentration camp builder, Wilhelmine Lübke.

A not inconsiderable financial source is the contribution of those old nazis who receive extraordinary high pensions in the Federal Republic.

Like the nazis the neo-nazis in the Federal Republic have developed a bustling activity in order to squeeze as much contributions as possible out of their supporters. To this end the party's central leadership has issued "Ten Iron Laws". It says: "We need money. This is most easily got in quantity in the sum of all meetings. "Speakers should" . . . demand not the usually silly mite, but a real sacrifice." Without this sacrifice "nothing of importance has" ever been "achieved in history."

The political aims for which NPD supporters must sacrifice, were revealed by Emil Maier-Dorn at a meeting on 11 November 1965 in the "Hackerkeller" in Munich. He demanded contributions from the meeting in the following words: "Deposit your money with us so that Germany might soon become what it once was, in a free Europe." Sacrifice is to be made for the old aims of the nazis, a greater German Reich which rules Europe.

And finally the leadership of the Bundeswehr has decided to give the NPD a financial injection through the publication of notices in the party newspaper. (See picture supplement NPD)

THE INTERPLAY BETWEEN CDU/CSU AND NPD

The main parties of the monopoly capitalists in West Germany are demagogically utilizing the influence of the NPD, which arose with their help, as the excuse for sharpening their own political course. The formation of the bunker coalition, intensified official government nationalism, the planned reactionary electoral reforms, emergency legislation, the economic enabling act—all of this has been recently substantiated with the ostensible intention of checking the danger from the right. In fact, however, this demagoguery conceals an escalation of neo-nazism.

The West German Bild-Zeitung of the Springer trust is already establishing brown prognoses (picture above). Under "yesterday" a swastika, under "today" the NPD, and under "tomorrow" a blank white circle. Then the unfinished sentence: "Everytime a crisis is in the air..."

The NPD national executive staged a provocative procession at the graves of war criminals in Landsberg (picture below). (See section "The Masters of Neo-nazism")



1933: The nazis collected money from the monopolists. The picture below shows the duplicate of a certificate on participation in the "Adolf Hitler Donation of the German Economy".

Berlin, den 1. Juni 1933.

Adolf Hitler-Spende der deutschen Wirtschaft

I.

Um die zahlreichen Einzelsammlungen der verschiedensten Stellen und Verbände der NSDAP abzulösen, ist unter dem Namen „Adolf Hitler-Spende der deutschen Wirtschaft“ eine zentrale Sammlung aller Zweige der deutschen Wirtschaft ins Leben gerufen. Die Leitung der Spende liegt in den Händen eines Kuratoriums, das sich aus Vertretern der beteiligten Wirtschaftszweige zusammensetzt. Den Vorsitz des Kuratoriums hat Herr Dr. Krupp von Bohlen und Halbach (Anschrift: Berlin W 35, Königin-Augusta-Straße 28, Reichsverband der Deutschen Industrie) übernommen.

Die Wirtschaftszweige haben sich verpflichtet, innerhalb eines Jahres, und zwar in der Zeit vom 1. Juni 1933 bis zum 31. Mai 1934, einen bestimmten Betrag in einer für sie jeweils zweckmäßigen Form aufzubringen und die gesammelten Gelder an das Kuratorium abzuführen.

Der Reichsverband der Deutschen Industrie und die Vereinigung der Deutschen Arbeitgeberverbände fordern die ihnen angeschlossenen Verbände und Firmen auf, mit allen ihnen zur Verfügung stehenden Mitteln diese Sammlung zu unterstützen. Wir erwarten die tatkräftige Mitarbeit aller unserer Organisationen und aller Unternehmungen und den persönlichen Einsatz ihrer Führer. Es gilt, schnell und großzügig zu handeln, die Durchführung einfach und sparsam zu gestalten und alle bürokratischen Hemmungen zu vermeiden.

Bereits laufende Sonderabmachungen sind in die allgemeine Sammlung einzufügen.

Duplikat

Adolf Hitler-Spende der deutschen Wirtschaft

Bescheinigung

D. Nr. 086867

Dresdner Bank

Berlin

ist an der „Adolf Hitler-Spende der deutschen Wirtschaft“ mit einem Betrag von
----- einhundertzwanzigtausend ----- Reichsmark beteiligt.

Berlin, im Juni 1934

Das Kuratorium

[Signature]
[Signature]
[Signature]

Sammlungen bei dem Inhaber dieser Bescheinigung sind allen Angehörigen, Dienststellen und Einrichtungen der NSDAP von der Parteileitung der NSDAP verboten, wenn der Inhaber der Bescheinigung die entsprechenden Zahlungsbelege (siehe Sammlungs-Verbot) vorlegen kann.



Endstreifen: Berlin

1966: The NPD collects money and offers printed payment forms to the trusts. On the occasion of the elections in Bavaria it turned to followers and readers of its press with

an appeal not only to make contributions, but to make real sacrifices for the party (picture below/see section "Financing by Big Industry").

Freunde der NPD!

Liebe DN-Leser!

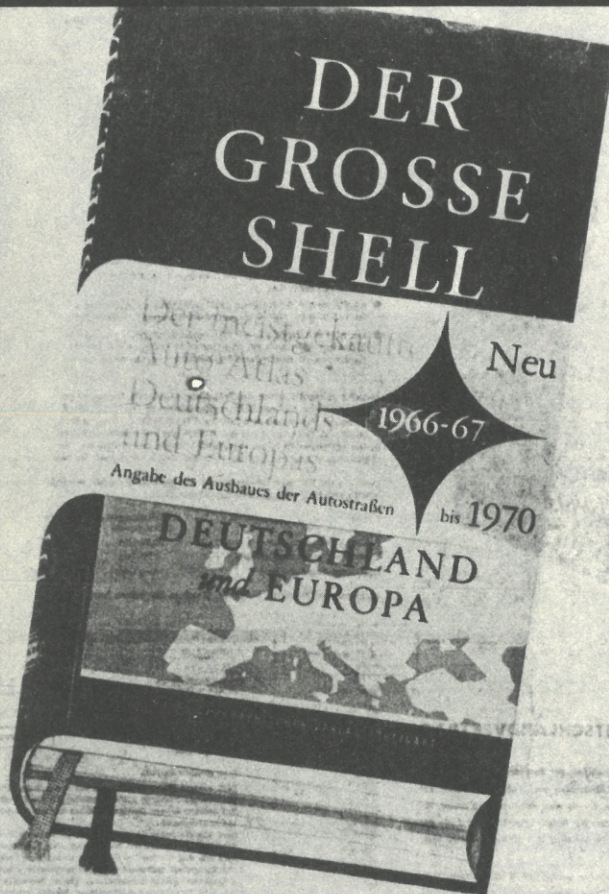
Die Hessenwahl brachte uns dank Ihrer Hilfe den Anfangserfolg. In Bayern müssen wir durch den Einsatz aller Werbemittel diesen Erfolg noch steigern.

Bitte helfen Sie uns!

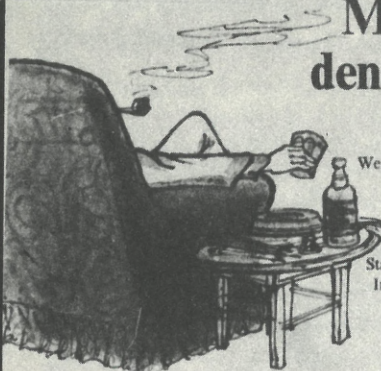
Spenden Sie für die Bayernwahl. Jetzt sollten Sie nicht nur spenden, sondern ein **wirkliches Opfer** bringen.

Friedrich Thielen
Bundesvorsitzender der NPD

The Bonn economy and state have long been financing the neo-nazis. Hermann J. Abs as deputy chairman of the board of directors of the Deutsche Shell AG inserted advertisements in the NPD newspaper Deutsche Nachrichten.



Männer wünschen sich den GROSSEN SHELL-ATLAS



Weil Autofahren mit dem GROSSEN SHELL-ATLAS erst richtig Spaß macht. Er enthält übersichtliche, präzise Karten für Deutschland und ganz Europa, die auf dem allerneuesten Stand sind. (Der geplante Straßenausbau ist sogar bis 1970 eingezeichnet.) Der GROSSE SHELL-ATLAS enthält außerdem Stadtpläne, Stadtumgebungskarten, ein Hotelverzeichnis und viele Sonderkarten und Informationen über Rasthäuser, Tankstellen, Werkstätten, Entfernungen, Verkehrszeichen, Grenzbestimmungen usw., die man ständig braucht. Der GROSSE SHELL-ATLAS tut täglich gute Dienste - mit keinem Geschenk werden Sie mehr Freude bereiten.

In Buchhandlungen und an Shell-Stationen DM 23,50

The wife of concentration camp builder and present Federal President Lübke, as honorary president of the "Aktion Gemeinsinn" (a welfare organization) advertises in the NDP party paper (illustration above/see section "Financing by Big Industry").

The Bundeswehr also pays for advertisements in the neo-nazi press out of its budget (illustration below).

Das Alter gehört dazu:

*** Wie können wir „Alten“ für uns neue Wege finden? ***

Beispiel Nr. 9: In der Altenwerkstätte in Göttingen haben Pensionäre eine neue, reizvolle Aufgabe gefunden. 3-4 Stunden täglich leisten sie Zubringerarbeit für einen Fertigungsbetrieb. Den meisten kommt es dabei nicht auf den Lohn, sondern auf die Zusammenarbeit mit Gleichaltrigen an. Krankleiert kaum jemals einer der Altenwerker, deren durchschnittlicher Gesundheitszustand als hervorragend bezeichnet wird. Ein Beispiel, das Schule machen sollte!



Ergreifen Sie die Initiative!
Wenn Sie ähnliche Beispiele kennen, schreiben Sie bitte an
AKTION GEMEINSINN
532 Bad Godesberg, Postfach 112



Nr. 51733 Hannover 33. Dezember 1964 H. 8011 C - 48 Pfennig



Fünf Minuten Pause!

... hat ganz schön geschaut der Marsch. Über 1000 m hoch und dann bei der Sonne. Ich danke, der herrliche Blick auf Bentheim entschädigt die Junge. Schlapp gemacht hat keiner. Na, wir waren auch oft genug unterwegs.

Unteroffiziere — Meister ihres Fache

Unteroffiziere erfüllen interessante und anspruchsvolle Aufgaben. Sie sind freiwillig Soldaten auf Zeit. Sie können sich während ihrer Dienstzeit beruflich aus- und weiterbilden. Dienst in der Bundeswehr ist für Sie gewinnende Zeit, die kommt uns allen zugute.

Bitte informieren Sie mich über die Laufbahn der Offiziere ☐ Unteroffiziere ☐ in Heer ☐ Luftwaffe ☐ Marine ☐ Bundesgrenzschutz ☐ Wehrtechnik (Bewährungsaufbau) ☐ Bundeswehr allgemein ☐ (Deutschland bitte ankreuzen)

Name: _____ Vorname: _____ Geburtsdatum: _____

Ort: () _____ Straße: _____

Kreis: _____ Beruf: _____

Schulbildung: Abitur ☐ Oberstufe ☐ Mittlere Reife ☐ Fachschule ☐ Volkshochschule ☐

Bitte in Blockschrift ausfüllen, auf Postkarte kleben und senden an Bundeswehrzentrale, 5200 Bonn 1, Postfach 7150

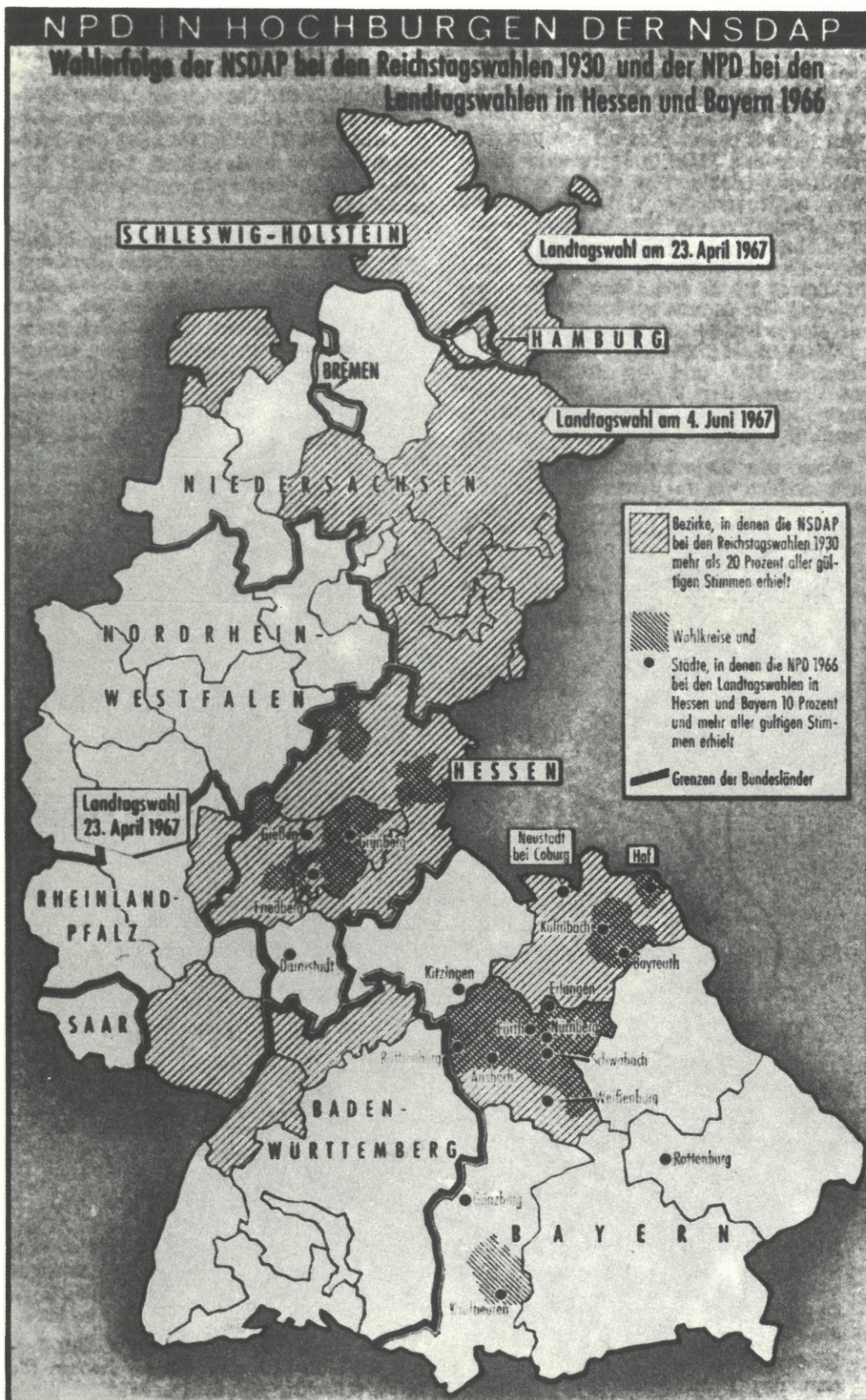
ist heute das letzte Mal, daß wir hier oben sind. Ihr Lehrgang geht zu Ende. Wieder ein halbes Jahr im. Gung verdammt schnell. Schade, aber nette Karte. Jedenfalls hat's ihnen hier gefallen. Das weiß ich. Sie werden ihren Weg schon machen. Das Zeug für einen bestimmten Unteroffizier haben die alle. Na, Anfang Januar kommt der neue Lehrgang. Hoffentlich bringe ich wieder eine so gute Gruppe wie diese. Darauf freue ich mich jetzt schon....

Zu Beginn eines jeden Quartals werden Bewerber im Alter von 17 bis 28 Jahren für die Unteroffizier-Leistungslehre eingesetzt. Die nächsten Lehrgänge an den Heeresunteroffizierschulen beginnen am 1. April 1967 und am 1. Oktober 1967. Anmeldungen für beide Unteroffizierschulen sollten sofort, spätestens aber drei Monate vor Lehrgangsbeginn erfolgen. Interessenten erhalten Sie - durch Einsendung dieses Coupons, - durch den Wehrdienstberater im Kreiswehrersatzamt und - durch jeden Truppendienst. UNWB 8a.8

14/25-0347

The advance of the NPD is shown by the following illustration "NPD in the strongholds of the Nazi party". In the map of the West German Federal Republic all districts where the Nazi party had scored more than 20 per cent of all valid votes cast at the Reichstag elections in 1930 are hatched

from top right to bottom left. All areas and towns where the NPD scored more than 10 per cent of all valid votes cast in the elections for the provincial parliaments of Bavaria and Hesse are hatched from top left to bottom right, towns are marked by a black dot.



The cynical formula "To Each His Own" extends from the Prussian militarist state (illustration above) to the nazi state of murderers (gate of Buchenwald concentration camp/

picture centre) to the nazi NPD program in West Germany (picture below/see section "The Programming of a New Mythology").



Grundsätze unserer

JEDEM DAS SEINE

Deutschland braucht eine Staatliche Gesellschaftsordnung, die zwischen der natürlichen Autorität einer echten Demokratie und der persönlichen Entscheidungsfreiheit des Staatsbürgers den Gemeinsinn schafft, der in sozialer Gerechtigkeit JEDEM DAS SEINE gibt. Deutschland braucht einen Staat, der sich auf die Haltung des MEHR SEIN ALS SCHEINEN gründet.

Documents prove that Fritz May had belonged to the SS death-head order in 1935 (pictures above and below). In 1967 he is NPD chairman in Rhine-Palatinate.

Laufende Nummer	SS-Mannschafts-Untersuchungsliste für Ärzte, Zahnärzte und Apotheker-SS-Anwärter in doppelter Ausführung)	SS 006 Sturmabteilung /
<p align="center">Personalien.</p> <p> Zuname: M a y <i>Fritz</i> Vorname: <i>Fritz</i> Geburtstag: 26. 10. 1914 Geburtsort: Osthofen Beruf: Polizeischüler Parteimitglied Nr. 1 507 543 SS-Ausweis Nr. _____ Dienststelle d. A. _____ Dienstgrad d. A. _____ </p>		
<p align="center">Familien-Nachricht</p> <p> Sonstige Stühle: keine Serum-Injektionen: _____ Sportliche Betätigung: Geräteturnen, Handball Turngemeinde Osthofen. </p> <p> Der Unterzeichnete erklärt hiermit, obige Angaben nach bestem Wissen und Gewissen gemacht zu haben und entbindet gleichzeitig den untersuchenden Arzt von seiner ärztlichen Schweigepflicht gegenüber seinen vorgelegten Dienststellen. </p> <p> <i>Ostheim</i> den 1. Jan. 1935 <i>Fritz May</i> </p>		



The interplay between the CDU/CSU and the NPD is mainly one of parties which are basically the same and factually pursue the same course. The roles are distributed differently. The CDU/CSU is the main political party of the West German regime, the government party. It follows the clandestine nazi road. The NPD is the open neo-nazi out-rider. If it demands those territories "in which the German people have grown for centuries", then the CDU/CSU has the occasion to react to this nationalistic pressure and to demand ultimately the frontiers of 1937, like Paul Lücke. If they demand "a status which is due to German troops on account of the terrible bolshevik danger from the east" for the Bundeswehr then the CDU/CSU can more decisively claim the commanding posts in the NATO with this support. If the NPD demands a state of the nazi type then the CDU/CSU can proceed to destroy democracy. If the NPD attacks the trade unions for not guaranteeing "industrial peace" but instead seeing "their task in the pretension to have political prerogatives", then this policy scarcely differs from the anti-trade union policy of the CDU/CSU.

The ruling forces in West Germany have especially utilized the relatively high election results of the NPD in the provincial elections in Hesse and Bavaria in 1966 in this sense.

The growth of NPD influence in these federal provinces was used by the CDU/CSU and the federal government as an argument for the further intensification of nationalism.

Strauss, the leading whip of nationalistic ideas, declared on the night of election Sunday in Bavaria:

"In this I see a conformation of the policy of the CSU and of my personal position . . . If our position with regard to a nationally profiled policy had been generally followed in the CDU/CSU, there would be no NPD in the Bavarian provincial diet today." (1st program of the West German television on 20 November 1966)

After the elections in Hesse Federal Minister of the Interior Lücke said:

"It would be premature and false to submit an application for the prohibition of the NPD to the Federal Constitutional Court. This must be clearly said. The reasons which led to the success of the NPD cannot be removed by a prohibition . . . concepts such as fatherland, freedom and national policy must be more convincingly defended by the democratic parties in their arguments." (*Die Welt*, West Berlin, 10 November 1966)

Already in April 1966 Lücke utilized along with an alleged communist infiltration, "the danger from the right" as justification of his plans for the setting up of an unlimited emergency dictatorship in West Germany. He said: "So that it might be quite clear, I have experienced how the Weimar democracy was destroyed. I see my task as minister of internal affairs to be to prevent a repetition of such an event. This is the cause of my fight for a reasonable emergency legislation . . ." (*Stern*, Hamburg, 10 April 1966)

Like the emergency laws, the planned reactionary electoral reform is being demagogically justified by Lücke by the growing influence of radical forces.

Answering the question of a *Stern* reporter on 10 April 1966 "Do you believe that the present electoral system in the Federal Republic gives the right-wing, radical parties too much of a chance, despite the five per cent clause?", he said "Yes, we need the majority electoral system."

On 10 November 1966 Lücke declared to the big bourgeois newspaper *Die Welt*:

"The provincial elections in Hesse have very clearly shown that the five per cent clause of the electoral law is no barrier to a radicalization . . . To stabilize our democracy and our state we need . . . an electoral reform which must lead to election by simple majority."

Characteristic of the interplay between the main political exponents of West German monopoly capital, the CDU/CSU, and the latest political instrument of the federal German armament and financial trusts, the openly neo-fascist NPD, is the close collaboration during West German elections.

A glaring example of this was seen in the incidents which occurred during the provincial diet election in North Rhine-Westphalia in July 1966. In the most populated federal province one would have expected a neck and neck race between the Christian democrats and the social democrats. After the NPD had announced at the beginning that it would campaign in the provincial diet elections, it surprisingly withdrew its candidature shortly before, without much excuse. The elections ended with an extremely narrow majority for the two bourgeois parties the CDU and FDP. The two parties had only two votes more than the SPD in the diet and they formed a coalition. Now the ruling circles prefer to dissolve this coalition and allow the social democrats in North Rhine-Westphalia to participate in the government, which had formed a coalition with the FDP.

An issue at the time of the *Deutschen National-Zeitung und Soldaten-Zeitung*, which is close to the NPD throws some light on the tactical connection of the elections. On 22 July 1966 one could read:

"If the electoral recommendation of the *National-Zeitung* was ever of decisive importance it was on 10 July 1966. Whether the Christian democrats owe their 85th seat to the *National-Zeitung* or the free democrats their 14th seat, is debatable. With all certainty, however, it is our electoral aid upon which the 86th CDU mandate and the 15th of the FDP is based, both of which could be snatched from the socialists by a very small majority of votes. Otherwise the question of a little coalition would no longer be on the agenda, for the SPD would have had 101 mandates."

In the following period, a number of other examples of cooperation between CDU/CSU and NPD in electoral campaigns have become known:

At the municipal elections on 13 March in Kulmbach, there was an open alliance between the CSU and NPD

against the social democrats, and at that time the FDP was also involved. Eight months later the CSU and NPD were strong enough to kick out the FDP.

After the elections in Hesse in November 1966, the provincial chairman of the NPD, Heinrich Fassbender, was able to state on the 1st program of West German television:

"The CDU has 'decently' restricted itself to very matter-of-fact problems in its argument with the NPD."

In answer to a related question he said:

"As far as television and radio are concerned, I am most pleased to state that the NPD suffered no disadvantage, for which I would like to thank the radio and television most heartily . . .

"As published on 3 December 1966 in a weekly of the Sudeten-German Seliger-Gemeinde, *Die Brücke*, published in Munich, a group of NPD functionaries met with personal friends of CSU Chairman Strauss. At this meeting it is said that the CSU representatives Brandner and Kiessling offered the NPD the Ministry of Justice should the CSU need the support of the NPD to obtain a majority in the Bavarian provincial diet. The publication also stated that it should be exactly observed how far a congruence of interests between the long term aims of the CSU leadership and certain trends in the NPD develops." (*Neue Kommentare*, Frankfurt-on-Main, 1967, No. 1, p. 3)

At the provincial elections in Bavaria in November 1966, the CSU advised its election speakers in a central speakers' material to request the voters to elect either the CSU or the neo-nazi NPD.

Representatives of the CDU effected the election of an NPD member to the regional electoral committee in the Plöner regional assembly in Schleswig-Holstein.

Prominent representatives of the CDU and the Social Democratic Party engaged in "confidential discussions" with Friedrich Thielen.

There an agreement was made on the tactical approach of the neo-nazis in the provincial elections in spring 1967 in Schleswig-Holstein, Rhineland Palatinate and Lower Saxony. Thielen explained that the neo-nazis would receive broad protection from the Kiesinger/Strauss government.

West German courts are creating favourable conditions for the neo-nazis' election campaign.

The administrative court in Hildesheim has decided that the town of Göttingen must make the city hall available to the neo-nazis in the NPD.

The decision of the town council of Darmstadt, according to which the halls in Liebig House were not to be made available to the neo-nazis, was revoked by the administrative court of Darmstadt.

A similar decision was made by the administrative court of Stuttgart in the first instance and the Baden-Württemberg supreme administrative court in the second instance, after the municipality of Stuttgart had refused to rent the large hall of the Gustav-Siegler House to the NPD.

Characteristic of developments in the West German Federal Republic is the fact that the old nazis were able to achieve their electoral successes in the old strongholds of the NSDAP with the help of the federal government. This also expresses the neo-nazi character of the NPD.

Goebbels said in the Reichstag in February 1932: "The local elections which followed 14 September show that the national socialist movement is making an irresistible ascent. Hamburg, Anhalt, Mecklenburg, those were eloquent signs of our further advance, and the results in Hesse have proved that the national socialist movement was able to increase its strength by 100 per cent in about one year." (*Goebbels spricht, Reden aus Kampf und Sieg*, op. cit., p. 17)

In one part of the areas named by Goebbels the nazis no longer have an influence today. This part belongs to the German Democratic Republic. Here nazism was stamped out root and branch. In West Germany on the other hand neo-nazism is growing from the old roots.

In the manner of Goebbels, the NPD leadership commented after the provincial elections in Hesse and Bavaria that "the national democratic movement has increased its strength by 200 per cent and more in one year." And that "the victorious march of the national democratic movement could no longer be halted."

Der Spiegel, Hamburg, published in its edition No. 49/1966 a statement from which it is clear that the neo-nazis in West Germany are following the path of the Hitler party. (See picture supplement NPD)

THE HITLER MOVEMENT AS INSTRUCTOR

According to statements of the leaders the NPD is a right-wing opposition party whose role is to be a collecting centre for all West German citizens who are dissatisfied with the ruling policy.

In reply to the question "What is your position on the Great Coalition in Bonn?" by a reporter of the Springer newspaper *Die Welt* of 9 January 1967, NPD propaganda chief Otto Hess declared:

"We hope that it will not be shipwrecked. We hope that the Great Coalition creates the stability which we all need—also the NPD. *Our task of building an opposition party is not lessened because of this*" (emphasis by the editor)

At the 2nd congress of the NPD Friedrich Thielen declared:

"It is up to us to develop the NPD into a *clean collecting centre for the Germans who are turning away from the old parties*" (emphasis by the editor)

For the fulfilment of the task which has been set them by monopoly capitalism the NPD makes use of the same political and social demagoguery as the nazis at the end of the nineteen-twenties and the beginning of the nineteen-thirties in the Germany of that time. The *falsification of the question of war guilt* plays a central role in the propaganda of the West German NPD. Like the national

socialists the neo-nazis are trying to distract attention from the disaster which German imperialism brought upon the peoples.

The failure of the policy of German imperialism, according to the thesis of the neo-nazis, is not based on its complete contradiction to reality, but is explained as follows:

"A senseless submission and the recognition of a collective blame have crippled German policy for two decades." (*Grundsätze unserer Politik*, op. cit.)

Thus the fact that the West German government is experiencing increasing difficulties is not caused by the adventurous, revanchist and especially aggressive policy of West German monopoly capitalism. The blame for this is rather to be sought abroad. The nazis operated similarly in the nineteen-twenties. The danger of political demagoguery becomes all too clear if one carefully reads the only apparently logical demands attached to the basic principles of the NPD:

"For the sake of its future Germany needs a true view of history. We are defending ourselves against the glorification of treason and the allegation that Germany alone is to blame for all the misfortune of the world. This leads to the moral self-destruction of our nation. We therefore demand an end to the lie about the sole guilt of the Germans, an end of the payment of thousands of millions which are continuously being taken from our people through coercion." (*Ibid.*)

As already with the nazis all values are reversed in the name of the nation. The courageous acts of resistance of upright anti-fascists and democrats against the Hitler tyranny is declared to be treason, against the glorification of which one must allegedly defend oneself.

For nazi and war criminals, however, the NPD is ready to overcome the past and have a general amnesty:

"We demand twenty years after the end of war, an end to the one-sided trials for the overcoming of the past, whereas in other countries millions of war criminals against German men, women and children remain unpunished. The internal appeasement of Germany and Europe requires equal rights for all and an end through a general amnesty." (*Ibid.*)

"Young people must understand that the . . . front-line soldiers selflessly performed superhuman deeds, and deserve respect for it, even if crimes were committed in the name of Germany at the same time . . ." (*Anmerkungen zum Manifest . . . op. cit.*)

To say that openly is monstrous in the West German Federal Republic. Leading politicians of the standing of a Strauss or Lücke have expressed themselves in the same manner many times. However, what imperialist German politicians understand by "good soldiers" and what these "good soldiers" can be misused for and what brutalities and cruelties these "good soldiers" are capable of was made quite clear in a fatal way in two world wars launched by German imperialism.

Leading politicians of the West German state offer

the neo-nazis encouraging examples in this connection. Strauss said that the growth of the influence of the NPD is a "revolt of parts of the young generation against the application of the system of tribal liability in the form of the collective liability of a generation." (*Der Spiegel*, Hamburg, 2 January 1967)

It is characteristic of West German conditions that the new nazis are today allowed to come out with the same methods of mass influence which were already used by Hitler fascism for its criminal adventure.

The CDU/CSU and NPD, both instruments of monopoly capital, exert a reciprocal influence on Bonn policy. In this way the political course of the ruling system in West Germany has systematically intensified. Primarily nationalism and chauvinism are being stimulated. The CDU/CSU is uttering stronger nationalistic slogans, and thereby sanctioning the extreme approach of the open neo-nazis. In this way the ruling parties of monopoly capital are preparing the ideological ground for the growing influence of the NPD.

At the same time the CDU/CSU is making use of the growing influence of the NPD as the point of departure for increasing nationalism and chauvinism in its own policy. The sharpened CDU/CSU policy can then still pretend to be "moderate" under the conditions of this skilful interplay.

One of the most dangerous and effective slogans of the nazis was the so-called *stab-in-the-back legend*.

Like the federal German "national democrats" today, the nazis ran into the ground the concept of "heroism" and the "super-human performances" of the front-line soldiers after the First World War. According to this legend German imperialism did not naturally lose the First World War. To blame for the defeat was the "subversive work of the reds in the homeland", to blame was "the November criminals" as they are called in nazi terminology. The Hitler fascists were suggesting to the masses that the war could have been won if there had been no "betrayal". It was therefore profitable to begin a new adventure.

Along with the blood and soil theory, nazi great power chauvinism, and militant anti-communism, this so-called *stab-in-the-back legend* was the main component of the ideological preparation of the Second World War.

West German imperialism is now beginning a new period of expansionist efforts. At precisely this time a new version of the *stab-in-the-back legend* is being hammered into the citizens of the Federal Republic by the neo-nazis.

The neo-nazi press asserts that the cause of the defeat of German armament and finance capital has now been found. In their notorious anti-communist manner they state that allegedly a "spy from Moscow was discovered in Hitler's Führer headquarters". This fictitious "spy" had very decisive effects on the war. Once again they are impudently lying: if this alleged betrayal had not taken place "Germany" would have won the war.

These theses and slogans are primitive and can easily be seen through by a politically half-educated person. However, one should not overlook the fact the ruling circles in the Federal Republic have done everything possible to prepare the ground on which these dangerous theories are being planted.

The new nazi gutter journalism of West Germany shamelessly starts a foul press campaign against the *Potsdam Agreement*.

The NPD paper *Deutsche Nachrichten* asserted on 27 January 1967 that the Potsdam Agreement could not be considered an agreement according to international law but just an "administrative agreement". The "Potsdam Arrangements", as they are called in the language regulations of the neo-nazis, were binding only on the states participating in the deliberations and are a matter which does not concern third parties. The neo-nazi sheet comes to the conclusion that "Germany... is therefore not bound by the Potsdam Arrangements".

This massive attack on the Potsdam Agreement by the neo-nazis just at this time is no coincidence. It corresponds to the falsification of the war guilt question and the new edition of the knife-in-the-back legend in their political conception, borrowed from Hitler.

To whip up the worst nationalism in West Germany the neo-nazis in the true manner of the Hitler fascists make the Potsdam Agreement the target of their attacks, that agreement that corresponds to the will of the peoples to deprive the nazi and war criminals of power, to destroy the roots of nazism and the danger of war. They thereby speculate on the superficiality and the dormant emotions of many West German citizens.

The NPD also practises the demagoguery according to the example of Hitler in the economic and social field. To rally as many followers as possible everybody is promised everything without the so-called national democrats taking the trouble to explain how they think the contradictory promises can be realized.

It fully agrees with the character of the NPD that their economic policy like that of the Hitler party is guided by the interests of big capital. In the interest of big monopoly capital the politico-economic ideas of the NPD are orientated on a further perfected monopoly state capitalist system. To establish a strong position for the struggle for the leading position in Europe, the revision of the results of the Second World War and the liquidation of socialism in the GDR and other countries, the NPD wants to stabilize the West German profit economy as the nazis did before it and the CDU/CSU want to do at present. For this aim, the NPD clearly expresses its faith in a monopoly capitalist large-scale economy, concentrated to the highest degree. The "Notes on the Manifesto and the Principles of the NPD" state:

"As foundation of such an economy orientated on maximum production the NPD considers a capital-strong big industry as indispensable as a foundation. We national democrats will support all efforts aiming at

integration of the export intensive enterprises producing the same goods (e.g., automobile industry)."

This shows that the central purpose of the economic policy of the NPD serves exclusively the big trusts and monopolies. All previous politico-economic experiences indicate that further concentration and centralization of production and capital will result in the ruin of further small and medium enterprises. Like the Hitler fascists, the NPD looking at present for its essential basis in the middle class and rural spheres tries to screen its economic policy serving exclusively the interests of big capital.

It turns to the middle classes with demagogic promises:

"The perception that only a highly intensive capital-strong big industry is in a position to safeguard the marketability of German goods on the world market, must under no condition lead to the infringement of the basis of existence of the middle classes—of the crafts, business, the small and medium industries... The NPD considers it as one of its principal tasks to protect by the introduction of economic and fiscal policy measures the essential conditions of the free and independent existence against the onslaught of big capital and against the menace of perishing in the great mass" (Anmerkungen zum Manifest und zu den Grundsätzen der NPD, op. cit.)

The small retail dealers are to be tied to the NPD with a similar thesis:

"The National Democratic Party demands the restriction of the reckless, anti-social and ruinous competition by the unlimited expansion of department stores, mail order business, discount houses, etc., which is imposed on the independent and efficient retail trade." ("Economic policy Decision of the NPD", *Deutsche Nachrichten*, Hanover, 21 May 1965)

Hitler's promises to the middle class retail trade had the following form:

"We demand immediate transfer of the big department stores to communal administration and their letting at low rent to small traders, and most extensive consideration of the small traders for supplies to the state, the provinces and urban districts" (Das Programm der NSDAP... op. cit.)

However the middle class retail dealers had tragic experiences. The neo-nazis in West Germany will protect the independent retail trade against the big industries and trade monopolies no more than the nazis let the big department stores to them. The nazis lured the German middle class into the catastrophe of the Second World War with such promises. Today, the members of the middle class are to be sacrificed to the measureless greed for expansion of the big West German trusts.

Like the Hitler party in its time the NPD tries to build a mass basis in the villages. It therefore assumes the appearance in its declarations on agrarian policy that it would support a "new" agrarian policy which fully

corresponds to the vital interests of the West German farmers. Like the nazis the neo-nazis also offer the farmers a host of demagogic promises including such generalities as: "Our agriculture must . . . be maintained in its healthy combination of small, medium and large establishments on the basis of modern cooperation." (*Sonderdruck III/66, Deutsche Nachrichten, Hanover*)

At the same time the NPD pretends to stand for prices covering costs, measures for the reduction of liabilities, reduction of interest charges to 2 per cent, elimination of the distortions in competition within the EEC framework, protection of the agrarian processing industry, and the full equalization of the income losses of West German agriculture resulting from the reduction of the West German grain prices. Above all, it tries to set itself up as representative of the interests of the approximately 800,000 part-time farmers.

If the nazis once designated the farmers as the "blood source of the nation" the NPD tries nowadays to persuade West German farmers that they are called upon to perform a state supporting function, and it is said in the declaration accepted by the 2nd NPD congress in June 1966 "without a healthy agriculture our people are the football of the interests and the policy of foreign powers". In fact, however, the neo-nazis want to realize in West Germany the principles of the fascist Reich Agricultural Board.

The farmers are assured by the neo-nazis of guaranteed income and increased production. But they conceal the fact that such promises cannot be realized under conditions of the domination of state monopoly capitalism. If the farmers are to be deluded in this way into thinking that the agrarian policy of the NPD is in truth guided by its faith in monopoly capitalist big business and the aggressive aims of West German imperialism, one is strongly reminded of the machinations of the nazis.

To realize this demagogic intention the NPD leadership is at pains, to obtain influence in the leading circles of the West German Farmer's Association and is assisted in these efforts by the president of the association, Edmund Rehwinkel.

The following report was published by the *Frankfurter Rundschau* on 24 January 1967:

"A discussion took place between Rehwinkel and leading figures of the NPD in Rehwinkel's apartment at the end of December 1966. The object was an exchange of views between the president of the Farmers' Association, NPD Chairman Thielen, Deputy Chairman von Thadden and three farmers who are members of the agricultural committee of the NPD . . . It is said that the 90-minute meeting took place in a very good atmosphere."

Already on 23 January 1966 the president of the Farmers' Association, Rehwinkel, threatened:

". . . because of the reduction in the agricultural sector a large part of the farmers of Lower Saxony will turn to the NPD in the elections for the Lower Saxon diet . . .

I can only tell the farmers, you have the ballot and must finally take the consequences yourself." (*Frankfurter Rundschau*, 23 January 1967)

The following is taken from an interview given by Rehwinkel to the broadcasting station "Freies Berlin":

"Question: You are supposed to have said that if there are such big reductions one must reckon that many farmers will vote NPD.

"Rehwinkel: Yes, it is clear at any rate that many farmers will take a new course either back to the FDP or to the new NPD . . .

"Question: Which party are you going to vote for?

"Rehwinkel: Formerly I voted DP, then CDU and FDP.

"Question: And you will not vote NPD now?

"Rehwinkel: That is a question of conscience.

"Question: That means, you don't want to deny this in a hurry?

"Rehwinkel: One must oneself experience what will come of it. I first want to wait to see what becomes of the NPD. These people met me with some of their functionaries . . .

"Question: And if the NPD develops into the conservative party you think it imaginable that large parts of the farmers and even you yourself may vote NPD?

"Rehwinkel: Yes. If it were to become a party like the former German Nationals or National Liberals or the old DP I should vote for it also, of course . . .

"I also want to say quite openly: would it then be bad if some hundred thousand farmers vote NPD?

"Question: You would not consider that as bad?

"Rehwinkel: I would not consider it as bad."

In the first program of the West German television on 27 January 1967 Edmund Rehwinkel expressed himself in a similar vein. These statements prove that the West German president of the Farmers' Association stands on the same position as the Federal Union of the (West) German Employers' Associations. He also requests the NPD to camouflage itself democratically. For its draping as a "national conservative" party he promises farmer votes. His touting of farmers for the NPD marks him as the close confidant of the same circles of West German big industry who are also behind the NPD. On 7 February 1967 the deputy NPD chief Adolf von Thadden in Hanover thanked Edmund Rehwinkel publicly for his support and said: "Rehwinkel's statements had a very positive effect on the work of the NPD." (UPI report of 7 February 1967 from Hanover)

This aggravating example clearly demonstrates the role of the NPD as collecting centre for all West German voters who are dissatisfied with the CDU/CSU policy. The CDU/CSU carries on the mad policy of armament and revenge and loads further financial burdens on the various strata of the population. The West German farmers get a very emphatic feeling of this and the dissatisfaction in these strata of the population is consistently increasing. This growing dissatisfaction forms a potential danger for the West German system of power so that the NPD has been assigned the task of prevent-

ing these dissatisfied people from perceiving the true causes of their worsened situation. It is only part of these tactics when the NPD occasionally thunders against the Bonn parties and West German parliamentarianism in a manner very like that of the Hitler party against the bourgeois parties and the parliament in the days of the Weimar Republic. This demagogic play is part and parcel of the NPD.

It is definitely in the interest of the CDU/CSU for the NPD to bind all of those who are dissatisfied with Bonn policy to it. He who turns away from the CDU/CSU and follows the rightist shame opposition of the NPD in reality follows the same monopoly capitalist powers which he thinks he has left.

THE BATTERING RAM AGAINST THE TRADE UNIONS

The NPD is increasingly used by monopoly capital as a battering ram against the workers and their organizations, especially the trade unions. With open vehement agitation and brutal anti-communism the neo-nazi party is to contribute to ordering especially the DGB and its trade unions into the "formed rule".

The programmatic decisions of the NPD on its attitude towards the workers are similar to those of the nazis and do not differ in principle from the formulations contained in the CDU/CSU theory of the "formed society".

It is stated in the "Notes on the Manifesto and the Principles of the NPD": "The social phenomenon of our time is the overcoming of the class struggle and the incorporation of the worker as an equal and respected member of society."

Efforts are allegedly made for a "classless efficiency society". The NPD refuses any co-determination of the workers and their trade unions. The biggest organizations of the working class, the trade unions, are denied any right to engage in political activity. In its place, an "exemplary fidelity and welfare obligation of the employers" is postulated, which is sufficiently well known from the nazi period.

In agreement with the theses of the CDU/CSU "social partnership is demanded from the trade unions and the employers". They are implored not to make their "group interests" the guiding line of the whole economic policy. It would be of much more importance to serve an imaginary "general welfare", perhaps in the sense of the nazi "folk community" or the Bonn "formed society". "The tariff authority of the social partners finds its limits where one proceeds at the cost of the whole and without consideration of the whole" it is stated in the "Notes on the Manifesto and the Principles of the NPD".

At the 2nd congress of the NPD party chief Friedrich Thielen was much more outspoken. He abused and slandered the trade unions in the following words: "How far we are from a genuine democracy is shown by ...

the reaction of the trade unions which are allegedly above parties, namely, the DGB and the DAG. The DGB which still has a majority of class fighters calls its members to open terror".

For a considerable time the press of the right-wing extremists and neo-nazis has been carrying on a wild anti-communist campaign against the West German workers, their organizations and other democratic forces. Special firebrands are the *Deutsche Nachrichten* and the *Deutsche National-Zeitung und Soldaten-Zeitung*. On the latter, Federal Minister of the Interior Lücke said on 31 January 1966: "... the contents of its articles are always within the limits of what is permitted". Both media cultivate the style of the Goebbels propaganda and in that they even excel the nazi propaganda chief.

In shameless perversion of historical facts the *Deutsche Nachrichten* of 27 January 1967 alleged: "The trade unions tried to collaborate with Hitler."

On 3 February 1967 the *Deutsche Nachrichten* made the DGB and its affiliated trade unions in one breath the successor to the nazi Labour Front. The trade unions were forcibly crushed by the nazis in 1933, many thousands of trade union officials were bestially murdered in the concentration camps or slain in other ways, disciplined and annoyed for their resistance to the Hitler dictatorship. But in the Bonn state it is permitted to insult the trade unions in the impertinent fashion of the *Deutsche Nachrichten*.

On the occasion of the elections to the Bavarian diet in 1966 the *Deutsche National-Zeitung und Soldaten-Zeitung* appealed to the voters:

"Everybody should go to the polls on 20 November. Our beloved German fatherland, our beloved Bavarian homeland are at stake. Everybody should act according to the principle, *defeat the leftists wherever you meet them!* It is a question of checking any anti-democratic and intolerant forces in the Bavarian cornerstone of the Federal Republic, in the Bavarian core of Germanism."

"Defeat the leftists wherever you meet them"—this slogan of the German imperialists had already been the starting point of a cruel campaign against the German workers' movement. Any internal resistance to the adventurous policy of monopoly capital should be quenched with murder and terror. This way led directly to the fascist dictatorship and to the murderous excesses during the Second World War for which there is no example in the history of mankind.

THE OLD NAZIS AS ELITE TROOPS

The neo-nazi West German NPD is completely penetrated with prominent old nazis who influence in decisive functions the policy of this party. The West German news magazine *Der Spiegel* wrote on 4 April 1966 on the two party chiefs: "Adolf is the head, Fritz the leader of the party." And on the "head of the party"

Adolf von Thadden, *Der Spiegel* reports: "His forefathers (Nesnachow branch) in Trieglaff-Pomerania—kept a strict monarchist, in a pietistic sense, God-fearing house and were counted among the state supporting families of Prussia. The great-grandfather and grandfather of Adolf von Thadden were members of the Prussian diet and his father was not only lord of the manor and captain of cavalry in the reserves but also district president."

Thielen, Friedrich
Chairman of the NPD

He is the son of an entrepreneur and served in the fascist Wehrmacht as a soldier from 1941 to 1942. In 1943 he took charge of his father's enterprise the present Bremer Betonwerk Friedrich Thielen. He is a co-founder of the Bremen CDU and since 1947 a member of the Bremen Citizenship. After its foundation he joined the German Party (DP) and became its district chairman in Bremen. He became chairman of the newly founded NPD in 1964 at the same time keeping his seat as elected member of the DP in the Bremen Citizenship.

Thadden, Adolf von
Vice-chairman of the NPD

During the Second World War he rose to the rank of first lieutenant in the tank corps of the fascist Wehrmacht. The qualified agriculturist devoted himself to politics after 1945 and took his stand in the camp of right-wing extremists from the very beginning. In 1962 he took charge of the leadership of the "Deutsche Reichs-Partei" (DRP) which supplied the core of the cadres for the NPD. Von Thadden heads the organizational centre of the party in Hanover and is at the same time editor of the party newspaper *Deutsche Nachrichten*.

The national conservative and black-white-red tint of the two top NPD party chiefs is no more than a scanty sign-board, not big enough to hide the many leading nazis behind it:

Hess, Otto
Member of the presidium of the executive committee of the NPD

Member of the NSDAP since 1 October 1933 (No. 279 534). Joined the SA at the same time, rose to the rank of Standartenführer and served as regional speaker and leader of the NSDAP. The year 1938 saw Hess in the function of government assessor in the Supreme SA Command and in 1942 he was a civil servant in the higher service of the Bavarian Ministry of the Interior. He "performed meritorious political service for the movement" and was recommended to

The paper continues: "In the leadership of the NPD in addition to executive committee members Höft, Winkelmann, Dr. von Hauff, Karl Prince zu Solms, only party chief Thielen and his deputy von Thadden wear black-white-red instead of brown waistcoats. The intelligent Pomeranian Junker, the descendant of Bismarck's friend Adolph von Thadden, rose only to the rank of squad leader.

the fascist Ministry of the Interior for special promotion. His efficiency was judged as "excellent".

May, Fritz
Provincial chairman of the NPD in Rhine-Palatinate

May was a member of the NSDAP (No. 1 507 543) and of the SS (No. 81 090) since 1933 and passed through the SS Junker school in Bad Tölz in 1938. During the war he was a member and later commander in the SS-Panzer-Grenadier-Ers.-Bataillon 10 and was made SS-Sturmbannführer on 30 January 1944. He was decorated by the Reichsführer SS with the "sword of honour" and the "death-head ring". Among other war decorations he was bearer of the "German Cross in Gold" and the "Iron Cross, first class".

Anrich, Professor Dr. Ernst
plays the role of a "chief ideologist" of the NPD

Anrich studied philosophy in Bonn and at other universities. He was known as a national socialist in Bonn already in 1930 and was a member of the National Socialist German Students' Association, Bonn local branch. Anrich took part in the Führer Congress of the National Socialist Students' Association in Halle/Saale on 31 October and 1 November 1930, with the later Reichs youth leader Baldur von Schirach in the chair. At this congress Anrich was called to the Reich leadership of the association to organize and carry through the educational tasks.

From 1933 to 1935 he was head of the guild in the "Deutsche Gildenschaft Ernst Wurche" which was a corporation within the framework of the NS Students' Association. On orders of the Reich leadership of the association, and also from his own concern, he tried since 1930 to transform the German universities "into national socialist colleges" and to effect the "intellectual seizing and tightening up of the German students".

As professor in the University of Strasbourg in 1941 he was at the same time leader of the National Socialist Lecturers' Association, Baden branch. Among others, he disseminated the ideology of nazism and war preparations in the following publications: "Three Pieces on the National Socialist World Outlook", "The Threat to Europe from France, 300 Years of Struggle for Hegemony out of Presumption and Fear."

The NPD chief propagandist Otto Hess was proposed in 1942 by Martin Bormann, then head of the NSDAP chan-

cellery, for the post of senior government counsellor. (Cf. section on "The Old Nazis as Elite Troops")

129

Der Reichsminister des Innern
(Verfügungsbefugte Stelle)

P 2 - 1136/42

Präsidentenkanzlei
des Führers und Reichskanzlers
Dat.: 11. APR 1942
1244

RP 4269/42

Vorschlag zur Ernennung

des

Regierungsrats H. e. B.
(Dienststellung, Name) zum Oberregierungsrat
(Dienststellung, Name)

in der Reichsbefoldungsgruppe A 2. oder der ihr entsprechenden Landesbefoldungsgruppe

Anlage: 1 mitgezeichnete Urkunde. Der Leiter der Partei-Kanzlei hat die Beförderung selbst beantragt.

Berlin, den 10. April 1942.

An den
Herrn Staatsminister und Chef der Präsidialkanzlei
des Führers und Reichskanzlers
Berlin W 8
Bogstraße 4

In Vertretung
[Signature]

(Hierbei ist der Verbleib der Urkunde des Führers und Reichskanzlers anzugeben)

Hierzu ist bei StP. 4273/42 beigefügt.

Im Namen des Deutschen Volkes
ernenne ich
den oben genannten Beamten.
Die Ernennungsurkunde ist unter dem heutigen
Tage mit meiner faksimilierten Unterschrift auszu-
fertigen.

Fuhrer-Hauptquartier, den 10. April 1942
Der Führer und Reichskanzler
gez. Adolf Hitler

Präsidialkanzlei Berlin, den 11. April 1942

1. Die unter obensiehender Orts- und Datums-
angabe mit der faksimilierten Unterschrift
des Führers und Reichskanzlers ausgefer-
tigte Urkunde geht mit Aufschreiben an
die antragstellende Behörde zurück.

2. An den Akten.
gez. Dr. Meissner

(Hierbei ist der Verbleib der Urkunde anzugeben, in Berlin StP. 42, Ortsnachr. 22-24, oder Nr. 2 22 begeben werden.)

StP. 42, Ortsnachr. 22, 24
271 6.1 ...

Ein 475 A 4

Grünberg, Professor Dr. Hans-Bernhard von
Member of the presidium of the executive committee
of the NPD

Grünberg is the son of an aristocratic landowner from Pritzg/Pomerania. After attending the gymnasium he studied political economy in Heidelberg where he finished as graduate agriculturist in 1926 and then went into agricultural practice. Member of the NSDAP since 1931. Was employed as national socialist college teacher at Königsberg University, of which he later became rector. He also held offices in the NSDAP and was a leader of the NS Lecturers' Association in East Prussia in 1941.

Schweimer, Horst-Günther
represents the NPD Hamburg rural branch

Schweimer became a member of the NSDAP (No. 1 049 803) and of the SS (No. 48 838) already in 1932. After completing the SS Junker school in Bad Tölz in 1935 he advanced to SS Untersturmführer on 20 April 1936, his highest rank was SS Hauptsturmführer. He was decorated with the "sword of honour" of the Reichsführer SS and was a member of the SS Life Guard Standard "Adolf Hitler" during his service with the SS, and with the rank of SS Obersturmführer he was on the staff of the Reichsführer SS. As legation counsellor first class Schweimer served in the office of Reich Minister of Foreign Affairs von Ribbentrop and thus is an old acquaintance of West German Federal Chancellor Kiesinger who held important positions in the nazi Reich Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Harms, Dr. Richard
another leading representative of the NPD

In his chief occupation Harms is chairman of the Verein für Meinungsforschung e. V. Hanover (Opinion Research Union).

He went to school and gymnasium from 1910 to 1923 in Gnetsch and Dessau and took his law study and legal training in Marburg, Berlin, Halle, Naumburg and Dessau. The examination for junior barrister he passed 1926, that for the doctor's degree in 1929 and for assessor in 1930 in Berlin.

Member of the NSDAP from 3 May 1926 (No. 35 426), supporting member of the SS since 1 July 1931 and member of the BNSDJ (Association of National Socialist German Lawyers) since 1929. In the NSDAP he held the following offices: provisional Gauhauptstellenleiter, head of the Dessau regional office. In a confidential

letter "To members and friends of the NSDAP" in November 1930 he offers himself "as a national socialist attorney". He was mayor of Dessau from 1934.

Maier-Dorn, Emil
Member of the executive committee of the NPD

Maier-Dorn was a member of the NSDAP since 1930, leader of the district training castle Schwaben, Reich training leader for technology in the Reich leadership of the NSDAP, KdF (Strength through Joy) district representative, 1939 Reich training leader of the National Socialist Association of German Technicians at the Reich school of the "Organization Todt" (OT) in Plasenburg (Kulmbach). During the war he was head of the department for training and political orientation in the office group of frontier guidance of the OT with the rank of OT Oberstabfrontführer. He was responsible for the education of the coming generation of leaders and the alignment of OT leaders at the OT Reich school. On behalf of the office for culture IV of the NSDAP organization for foreign countries he gave lectures for NS groups in Switzerland in 1939. A similar lecture trip was envisaged for the period from 20 April to 4 May 1944 with *Freisler*, president of the "People's Court", on the same list of speakers.

Four of the eight NPD members of the Hessian diet are former members of the nazi party:

Fassbender, Heinrich, chairman of the NPD provincial branch and the NPD parliamentary group in Hesse, member of the NSDAP since 1931

Woitschell, Gerhard, member of the provincial executive of the NPD, member of the NSDAP since 1928

Bläsing, Anneliese, member of the provincial executive of the NPD, member of the NSDAP since 1941

Stürtz, Gustav, member of the NSDAP since 1934

Further old nazis in the NPD:

Gutmann, Wilhelm, deputy chairman of the NPD, member of the NSDAP since 1932

Körner, Dr. Georg, member of the NPD presidium, member of the NSDAP since 1929, bearer of the "Golden Party Badge"

Brouwer, Otto-Theodor, member of the NPD presidium, member of the NSDAP since 1931

Schütz, Waldemar, member of the NPD presidium, publisher of the *Deutsche Nachrichten*, member of the Hitler Youth since 1929, cadet of the SS Ordensburg of Vogelsang, Hauptsturmführer in the Waffen SS

THE BLACKMAIL OF FOREIGN COUNTRIES

Already today it is clear that the neo-nazi development in West Germany serves the policy of expansion of monopoly capital.

In an evil way the ruling forces in West Germany try to blackmail foreign countries with the growing neo-nazism, a method which has repeatedly been used by German imperialism. Before 1914 State Secretary in the Foreign Office (AA) Alfred von Kiderlen-Wächter once

said to the chairman of the notorious "Alldeutscher Verband" Heinrich Glass:

"Attack me, it will be quite convenient to me because then I can tell the foreign representatives that the AA is ready for any compromise but behind it stand the bad Alldeutschen and their influence is so great that I must take it into consideration. The foreign powers will get used to that."

At present the ruling forces of West Germany are trying to put the blame for the national socialist and neo-nazi development on those who warned against the dangerous consequences of the not overcome past in West Germany, and to induce them to yield to the impudent Bonn demands. These tactics shall be proved with a few examples:

Once again a distinguished representative of the monopolies has put himself in the spotlight. Fritz Berg, president of the Federal Association of German Industry, claimed at an employers' congress on 25 November 1966:

"Similar and always repeated campaigns promoted during the last years, which ignored all positive achievements in Germany and the compact democratic system deeply rooted in the people, and which instead exaggerated every marginal negative appearance, contributed considerably to the success of the NPD ...

"We therefore must now decisively turn against those who from within or outside pour oil into the flames instead of helping to extinguish them ..." (*Associated Press*, Cologne, 25 November 1966)

Strauss shamelessly threatened the world in 1965:

"A Germany which should once again be subject to a kind of dictated "military Versailles" and which as the world's third largest economic power should then stand discriminated again between East and West can only appear as a nightmare to every reasonably thinging person. From historical experience alone one can calculate when a new type of Führer would promise and even provide atomic weapons and still worse things to a Germany treated in such way." (*Rheinischer Merkur*, Cologne, 27 August 1965)

While Strauss demagogically pretends to want to protect West Germany against alleged discrimination, Lücke declares that the real aim is the realization of the adventurous demands of the Bonn rulers. For instance, he demanded far-reaching dictatorial powers and atomic weapons, when he said:

"This development does not come by chance. The allies did a little too much in destroying national feelings after the war. It is impossible to disregard the national feelings of a people over a long period without damage. Indeed, children and grandchildren must atone for the political sins of their fathers and grandfathers ... The Federal Republic does not enjoy full sovereignty. I endeavour to change this by trying to replace the emergency rights of the allies with German right. And we have no right of co-decision in atomic questions, and

that means we are a second class military power." (*Stern*, Hamburg, 10 April 1966)

The same method is applied in the blackmailing agitation against the Atomic Weapon Non-proliferation Agreement. CDU Bundestag member, Werner Marx wrote in the *Echo der Zeit* on 16 February 1967:

"Did our allies even consider the effects on the radical tendencies in our country if we are made to sign an agreement?"

The Munich newspaper *Volksbote* wrote on 26 November 1966:

"In the interview which Franz-Josef Strauss gave that cheeky Kraeplin on election night he named the deciding cause of the success of the NPD when he pointed out that it is only understandable that the German people, dragged in the mud for years, should react against provocations and humiliations with stubbornness."

The *Volksbote* is published by retired State Secretary Hans Schütz, CSU. Editor-in-chief of the paper is Franz Gaksch, also CSU, and member of the Bavarian diet. In this manner the CDU/CSU politicians are practising the ill-famed methods already used by Hitler to make foreign countries responsible for the "boiling soul of the people", even if it is organized at home.

Provocations produced by the openly declared neo-nazis are to give point to the attempted extortions of the federal government. Tendentious leaflet actions promoted by "NPD editors" have been frequently noted in the two Belgian districts of Eupen and Malmédy. They do not aim at anything short of "annexation to Germany".

These NPD actions are not all the first attempts of Federal Germany to revise the results of the Second World War on the Belgian border. The CDU/CSU had its hand in the game even before the NPD. In September 1965 it became known that the *Aachener Volkszeitung* (CDU) had been published since 8 March 1965 with a news section entitled "Aus den belgischen Ostkantonen" (From the Belgian eastern cantons). An editorial office with West German editors was to be set up in Eupen. According to reports of all Belgian newspapers the action of the *Aachener Zeitung* evoked sharp protests.

With its latest leaflet actions the NPD carried on what the CDU/CSU started and what the German trusts which are responsible for the largest share of foreign investments in Belgium since 1959 like to see. The *Bulletin des Presse- und Informationsamtes der Bundesregierung*, reports on 8 October 1965 that 37 establishments of big West German trusts have been set up there.

The activities of the neo-nazis were also intensified in Alsace-Lorraine. Here, too, the NPD continues what the CDU/CSU started and tolerated. On 22 May 1959 the West Berlin *Telegraf* wrote that the Association of Upper Silesian Fellow-Countrymen "not only demands the revision of the German eastern borders with Poland and Czechoslovakia but also the return of Alsace-Lorraine to the Reich.". At that time the paper concealed

Neo-nazis feel at one with the South African fascists. This is also reflected in the facsimile, with which the NPD party

newspaper advertises a trip to South Africa—and also to "the former German South West Africa".

**Im
Frühjahr
1967
nach
Südafrika**

Reizezeit: April 1967

Reisedauer: 3 Wochen

Flüge: Mit Linienflugzeugen der SAA
(South African Airways)

Reisestrecken: Frankfurt (Main) – Las
Palmas – Johannesburg – Durban –
Kapstadt – Windhoek – Las Palmas
– Frankfurt (Main).

Besuchsorte: Johannesburg, Pretoria,
Krügerpark, Indischer Ozean, Durban,
Gardenroute entlang dem Indischen
Ozean, Kapspitze, Windhoek (ehemals
Deutsch-Südwestafrika).

Besonderes: Das einmütige Urteil der
bisherigen Teilnehmer zu unseren Süd-
afrikareisen: „Die DN-Reisen nach
Südafrika sind deshalb einmalig, weil
an ihnen Menschen teilnehmen, die
sich verbunden fühlen.“

Die Reise führt in ein Land von ein-
maliger Schönheit, in ein Land, das
sich als völlig anders offenbart, als
es die Weltpresse kennzeichnet.

Teilnehmerpreis: Zirka 3500 DM

Anmeldungen:

DEUTSCHE NACHRICHTEN

3 Hannover 1

Postfach 1580

The Bild-Zeitung, Hamburg, wrote on 21 November 1966: "Strauss wins! CSU governs!" (above). Only four days later the West German Deutsche National-Zeitung und Soldaten-

Zeitung said: "Did Hitler win in Bavaria? Receipt for blackmailing foreign countries" (below). Practically no difference . . .



Berlin, 21. Nov. 1966

Strauß siegt!

CSU regiert!

Deutsche

National*Zeitung

und Soldaten-Zeitung

13. Jahrg. Nr. 47 25. November 1966

Preis: 1,20 DM (incl. MwSt.)

ISSN 0931-917X / Ausgabe A / A C 2295 C

Die Geschichte der Nationalen seit 1945 / Neue NATIONAL-ZEITUNGS-Serie

Siegte Hitler in Bayern?

Quittung für Erpressungen des Auslands

from its readers that Konrad Adenauer was the most prominent visitor of the meeting in which this demand was made.

The *Deutsche Nachrichten* of 22 September 1966 leaves no doubt about the basic attitude of the neo-nazis on Alsace-Lorraine. To them this country is "French only with respect to the state" but "German according to nationality".

With the knowledge and toleration of the federal government the NPD allowed itself to carry out a dangerous provocation against Austria. The *Kieler Nachrichten* reported on 24 December 1966 from Bonn that the NPD also intends to intensify its activities in Austria.

"The deputy federal chairman of the NPD, Adolf von Thadden, will make his appearance as principal speaker at the foundation meeting of the national association of Austria in Linz already at the end of January (1967)."

This association of the NPD in Austria was founded on 11 February 1967 and the Innsbruck University assistant Dr. Herbert Burger, involved in the outrages in Alto Adige, is considered one of the initiators. In the jargon of the neo-nazis, Austria has already returned home. As national associations can only be established in the provinces of the West German federal state the NPD seems to be of the opinion that an independent Federal State of Austria no longer exists. They have already annexed it for themselves into the spheres of power of West German imperialism.

There is scarcely an edition of the *Deutsche Nachrichten* in which the NPD misses the opportunity to explain with "nationality", "custom" and "treasures of songs" that Alto Adige belongs to the "German language area" or should at least be given autonomy. They pull the same cord with the Association of Sudeten German Fellow Countrymen which organized the Kulturwerk Südtirol (Cultural Organization for the South Tyrol) co-responsible for murder and terror there. The close relationship between spirit and deed is also shown in other questions. The NPD advocates the revanchist demand: "The West German claim to the Sudeten German area will never expire." The NPD already corroborated this territorial claim by its own "Declaration on the Sudeten German Question":

"1. The NPD considers the Association of Sudeten German Fellow Countrymen the legitimate political representation of the Sudeten German people.

"2. The NPD declares according to point XI of its manifesto that Germany has a claim on the territories in which German people have grown for centuries. These territories include the Sudeten German homeland transferred to the German Reich by the European great powers in the Munich Agreement of 1938.

...

"4. The NPD declares that the right to the homeland of the Sudeten Germans in their native settlements does not expire with time." (*Deutsche Nachrichten*, Hanover, 10 September 1965)

In its provocative actions against other states the NPD relies on the internationally organized fascism. This is also a method of exerting pressure on the international public which is to be advantageous to the governing forces in Bonn in enforcing their chauvinist demands.

Already on 4 March 1962 the so-called European record on the creation of a "National European Party" was signed in Venice. This party has a definitely neo-nazi character. The principal signatories include:

From the West German	
Federal Republic	Adolf von Thadden
From Great Britain	Sir Oswald Mosley
From Belgium	Jean Thiriat

The international fascist periodical *Nation Europa*, Coburg is an important communication link between the West German neo-nazi NPD and international fascism.

Former DRP people in the NPD maintain contact with the French fascist leader Charles Luca ("Mouvement Populaire Francaise" [M.P.F.]).

Federal Minister of the Interior Lücke himself had to admit that the NPD has contacts with fascist government circles in Rhodesia and South Africa.

The manner in which these international fascist connections are concealed is seen in an announcement in the NPD newspaper *Deutsche Nachrichten*. (See p. 219)

At present the NPD leaders are making great efforts to extend their network of connections with international fascist organizations. They are especially eager to consolidate their relations with fascist forces in Canada, France and Great Britain. It is quite clear that leading monopoly capitalist circles in the West German Federal Republic have the intention of using this provocative activity of the NPD to a greater extent for their expansionist activity.

Friends, Be On Guard!

This Grey Book sifted facts, submitted documents, collected observations and the evidence of witnesses from the most varied political backgrounds, thus assembling link by link the chain of proof: Neo-nazism has deep roots in the West German reality of today; it finds a luxurious breeding ground in this society dominated by a few powerful men of monopoly capital; in part conditioned by tradition, in part pushed ahead by the present circumstances, it has started to overrun the life of the people in this state.

Thus the West German Federal Republic has become a latent danger in Europe. On the basis of concentrated economic power, which is again trying to draw huge profits out of armament, the rulers of this state are proceeding to political expansion. The Kiesinger/Strauss government is the only one on the European continent which wants to revise the frontiers that were established between the nations for their pacification after the smashing of the fascist Third Reich. For this government shamelessly confesses to be the legal successor and testamentary executor of the old, guilt-laden German Reich in its frontiers of 1937. And its open propagation of the annexation of the GDR, using the presumption of sole representation, is only the first aim of an expansionist policy conceived in continental dimensions. In-

strument of the expansion is an army again armed to the teeth—though still conventionally for the time being—an army which represents the most important military potential of NATO in Europe and is on the point of equipping itself with nuclear weapons. It is the monopolized mass press in particular which is carrying out the spiritual demoralization. It worships force, brutality and horror, and its chauvinist howls are the musical accompaniment to the resurrection of nazism. The emergency constitution modelled on Hitler's legislation is the safeguard from the point of view of domestic policy; it is to form the society of the Federal Republic into a definitive military dictatorship.

Irrespective of whether the dictators come into the open or hide behind the mask of parliamentarianism—not everything turns to gold in their hands, either in Germany or elsewhere in the world. Also the new edition of a material and intellectual fascization of society as can be observed today in the Federal Republic has no historical perspective. The world conscience is not asleep, especially when the existence of the world is at stake. Nor can the old continent of Europe feel safe as long as its security is threatened by an opponent whose painful hobnailed boot it had felt from the North Cape to Sicily, from the Caucasus to the Biscay. Two decades

are not enough to forget the "thousand-year Reich", and certainly not these two decades of the Federal Republic which have been followed with attention.

Democracy and peace have strong and invincible watchmen. The Soviet government declared on 29 January 1967:

"German nazism played the main role in the preparation and unleashing of the Second World War which did not stop at the frontiers of Europe but also brought destruction to peoples of other areas of the world and cost them innumerable lives. Therefore, the Soviet government considers it its duty to appeal today to the governments, parliaments and peoples of Europe and all other continents to be most vigilant and, in view of the facts testifying to the activation of militarist and neo-nazi forces in the Federal Republic of Germany, to do everything possible to prevent these forces from jeopardizing world peace."

A higher responsibility naturally devolves on the citizens of the West German Federal Republic themselves, on its workers and peasants, scientists and students, artists and publicists—on all those forces which, from a democratic and humanistic outlook, are immune to the drug of nationalism. Nazism can be defeated if the beginning are checked; if it completes its organization into the system ruling the state it will cost bloodshed and tears. Thus the struggle against neo-nazism, against all its origins, creeping consequences and overt appearances against the policy of expansion, proves to be a duty to be demanded ever more urgently of citizens of the Federal Republic; for the peoples of Europe this struggle becomes a question of existence.

The anti-fascist writer and journalist, Julius Fučík, before he was murdered by nazi hangmen, wrote down those words that again today move the conscience of the world: "Friends, be on guard!"

In view of the accomplished facts and current developments it must be said without circumlocution: The swelling floods of neo-nazism can be controlled only by working to prevent the Federal Republic from being totally ruled by the powerful men of big capital and led by incorrigible expansionists on the road to ruin. Instead of new phrases to camouflage the old policy there is need for a new policy without phrases. The decisive criterion is the attitude toward the German Democratic Republic.

Who purses his lips must whistle—who rejects neo-nazism must advocate the recognition of the German Democratic Republic. For this socialist Republic, in contrast to the West German Federal Republic infected with

the abscesses of fascism, proved that the German name need not be synonymous with big power aspirations, with hostility toward other peoples and the permanent danger of war. The GDR is the German state of humanism, human dignity, peaceful creativeness of a community of people freed from exploitation. The more insolently the old and new nazis raise their heads in West Germany, the more distinctly do these anti-fascist features come to the fore.

Dangerous, but without a chance of ever reaching the longed for shores—that is how, in the light of the international situation, one must assess the course of the West German government which has set the foresail of nazism. What Hitler was unable to do when he set out to subjugate Europe, what Adenauer did not bring about when he wanted to warm his hands at the fires of cold war—will also not be accomplished by the new Kiesinger/Strauss government which has engaged a few social democratic ministers as fulfilment helpers. For the GDR is stronger and more consolidated than ever before. Its alliance with the Soviet Union is unbreakable, and the community of states of the Warsaw Treaty bars the way should military boots again try to cross the threshold to the East and South East of Europe.

The neo-nazi expansionist policy, however, based on the sole representation pretension blocks any approach to the normalization of relations between the two German states and, thereby, also any real progress towards guaranteeing European security. A state whose government advocates such a policy remains an acute source of danger.

For this reason the Conference of Foreign Ministers of the States of the Warsaw Treaty in the Polish capital in February 1967, unanimously and emphatically confirmed the Bucharest declaration of July 1966 on the consolidation of peace and security in Europe. This declaration calls upon the government in Bonn to proceed from the actual situation. That means:

to recognize the existing frontiers (the Oder-Neisse frontier as well as the frontier between the two German states),

to admit the nullity of the Munich Agreement,

to recognize the existence of two German states,

renounce the sole representation pretension and take up normal relations with the GDR,

to give up its illegal grip on West Berlin and discontinue all plans for obtaining nuclear weapons.

Such a policy is in the interest of peace and the security of all European peoples.

Register of Names

Abs, Hermann Josef 7, 17, 41, 42, 60, 61, 73, 84, 85, 87, 105
Adenauer, Konrad 6, 7, 12, 14, 33, 50, 53, 61, 84, 167, 176, 221
Altenbrunn, Hans 196
Ambros, Dr. Otto 40, 85
Amrehn, Franz 24
Anrich, Prof. Dr. Ernst 151, 205/206, 215
Arndt, Heinz von 201

Baden, Max von 10
Balke, Prof. Dr.-Ing. Siegfried 56, 73, 108
Barzel, Dr. Rainer 8, 14, 21, 24, 26, 50, 53, 139
Bassler, Hilmar 45
Baetzgen, Dr. Rudolf 97
Baudisch, Dr. Roman 97
Baudissin, Wolf Graf von 168, 170, 171, 175
Baumann, Hans 150
Bayerl, Dr. Franz 97
Becher, Dr. Walter 28, 200
Beck, Eberhard 97
Becker, Herbert 169
Beelitz, Dr. Ulrich 98
Benda, Ernst 131, 132, 133
Benecke, Dr. Theodor 67
Benning, Dr. Bernhard 89
Berg, Fritz 50, 73, 218
Berndt, Volker 151
Bernhardi, Friedrich von 6
Bernstorff, Graf von 196
Betzstein, Wolfram 184
Blankenhorn, Herbert 45
Bläsing, Anneliese 217
Blatt, Peter 151
Blessing, Karl 73, 89, 105, 107
Blohm, Dipl.-Ing. Rudolf 69
Bock, Prof. Dr.-Ing. Günther 67
Boden, Dr. Hans Constantin 61
Boehland, Rudolf 151
Böhm, Dr. Franz 30
Böhmler, Rudolf 191
Bohn, Dr. Gerhard 151
Bölkow, Dipl.-Ing. Ludwig 67
Bormann, Prof. Dr. Felix von 201
Bosselmann, Hugo 184
Boetticher, F. von 149
Brammer, Helmut 151
Brandner, Josef 210
Brandt, Willy 16, 26, 43, 49, 50

Braun, Rüdiger 151, 152
Britsch, Dr. Walter 98
Bröker, Leopold W. 89
Brouwer, Otto-Theodor 217
Burgbacher, Prof. Dr. Fritz 202
Burger, Dr. Herbert 221
Bütefish, Dr. Heinrich 85

Carganico, Walter 189
Coelln, Dr. Karl-Günther von 98
Cramm, Freiherr von 180

Dadieu, Prof. Dr.-Ing. Armin 64, 67
Dahlgrün, Prof. Dr. Hans-Georg 89
Dalma, Alfons 144
Dehnen, Dr. Dietrich 151
Dettweiler, Rudolf 203
Dichgans, Dr. Hans 143
Diederichs, Dr. 42, 60, 61
Diehl, Dr. Günter 44, 46
Dietl, Eduard 195
Dietrich, Sepp 190/191
Docter, Heinz 69
Dollinger, Dr. Werner 16
Dönitz, Karl 191
Dornier, Prof. Dipl.-Ing. Claudius 68
Drews, Werner 168, 175
Dufhues, Dr. Josef-Hermann 6, 104
Dulig, Wolfgang 184
Düren, Dr. Albrecht 77
Dürre, Dr. Günther 98
Dürrfeld, Dr.-Ing. Walter 85

Eberbach 185
Ebisch, Dr. Hellmuth 98
Eckardt, Felix von 161
Emminger, Dr. Otmar 90
Engel, Ing. Rolf 68
Erdmann 168, 170
Erdmann-Jesnitzer, Prof. F. 15
Erhard, Prof. Dr. Ludwig 14, 35, 75, 104, 123, 143, 144
Erhardt, Arthur 191
Ertl, Josef 32
Estner, Dr. Hans 98

Fassbender, Heinrich 210, 217
Felsch, Hans 98
Fessler, Ernst 90
Fey, Will 196
Fischer, Karl 69

- Flick, Friedrich 73, 85
 Frank, Ernst 153
 Frank, Karl Hermann 153
 Freisler, Dr. Roland 129, 195
 Fremerey, Dr. Gustav 98
 Friedrich Wilhelm II. 144, 149, 165
 Frydag, Dipl.-Ing. Karl 68
 Fuhrmann, Reinhold 69

 Gaksch, Franz 218
 Ganser, Dr. Lothar 184
 Gaerte, Dr. Felix 45
 Gaudecker, Gerlach von 180
 Gehlen, Reinhard 124
 Gehrels, Dr. Hans 98
 Gerstberger, Olga alias "Olga von Barenyi" 191
 Gerstenmaier, Dr. Eugen 53, 88, 140, 143ⁱ
 Gewandt, Heinrich 41
 Giersch, Prof. Dr. Herbert 107
 Gieser, Kurt 169
 Glass, Heinrich 218
 Globke, Hans 124
 Goebbels, Josef 145/146, 149, 152, 160, 181, 204, 205, 207, 210, 214
 Goeler, Bernhard Freiherr von 34
 Goltz, Graf 195
 Goppel, Alfons 203
 Göring, Hermann 18, 195
 Gossau, Ing. Fritz 68
 Gradl, Dr. Johann Baptist 17
 Grass, Fritz 32
 Gremse, Dr. Martin 98
 Grewe, Prof. Dr. Wilhelm 53
 Groeben, Hans von der 33
 Groote, Dr. Wolfgang 143
 Gross, Dr. 40
 Gross, Dr. Johannes 157
 Grünberg, Prof. Dr. Hans-Bernhard von 153, 217
 Guderian, Heinz 194
 Guderlei, Bernd 183
 Gutmann, Wilhelm 188, 217
 Guttenberg, Karl Theodor Freiherr von und zu 32

 Haas, Wilhelm 46
 Hallstein, Prof. Dr. Walter 33, 34
 Hansen, Kurt 73
 Harlan, Veit 161ⁱ
 Harms, Dr. Richard 217
 Härtle, Heinrich 153
 Hassel, Kai-Uwe von 22, 31, 41, 76, 175, 184, 189, 190
 Hauff, Dr. von 215
 Hauser 168
 Hecker, Dr. Gottfried 45

 Heesemann, Dr. Siegfried 98
 Heinemann, Dr. Dr. Gustav 16, 133
 Heinrichsbauer, Dr. Jürgen 201/202
 Heise, Dr. Hans-Joachim 98
 Henckel, Dr. Hans 90
 Henle, Günter 73
 Hennis, Prof. Dr. Wilhelm 140
 Henrici 168
 Herbst, Dr. Axel 33
 Hermann, Harry 189
 Hermann, Paul 132
 Hermens, Prof. Dr. Ferdinand A. 139
 Herwarth von Bittenfeld, Dr. Hans Heinrich 45
 Hess, Otto 204, 210, 215
 Heusinger, Adolf 176
 Heydte, Prof. Dr. Dr. Friedrich August Freiherr von 153
 Heyne, Dr. Hans 68
 Himmler, Heinrich 183
 Hindenburg, Paul von 10, 149, 195
 Hitler, Adolf 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 12, 13, 52, 87, 88, 165, 182, 190, 191, 195, 201, 214
 Hobe, Cord von 168
 Höcherl, Hermann 22
 Höft 215
 Höhn, Prof. Dr. Reinhard 153
 Horné, Alfred 105
 Horner, Ulrich 184
 Hospach 180
 Huber, Wolfgang 203
 Humbert, Hans 99
 Hünnerbein 184
 Huth, Joachim 182

 Ingram, Robert 6
 Irmler, Dr. Heinrich 90

 Jacobi, Dr. Fritz 108
 Jacopetti 160
 Jagusch, Dr. Heinrich 127
 Jaksch, Wenzel 28
 Jenett 168
 Jeschonnek, Gert 168
 Jünger, Ernst 190, 191

 Kähler, Otto 90
 Kaissling, Dipl.-Ing. Karl 60
 Kalkstein, Heinz 99
 Karbe, Jürgen 167
 Karpinski, Peter 168
 Karst, Heinz 25
 Kastellitz 183
 Keilig, Wolfgang 190
 Keitel, Wilhelm 166

Kernmayr, alias Kern, Erich 153, 191
 Kesselring, Albert 191
 Kiderlen-Wächter, Alfred von 217
 Kielmansegg, Johann Adolf Graf von 34, 168, 170, 171, 175, 178/179, 189
 Kiesinger, Dr. Kurt Georg 7, 12, 13, 14, 16, 22, 24, 30, 31, 33, 35, 38, 41, 50, 52, 75, 109, 140, 154, 156, 182, 205
 Kiessling, Werner 210
 Kirchner, Heinz 39
 Kleist, Dr. Peter 153
 Kluge, Dr. Horst 151
 Knieper, Dr. Werner 124
 Knott, Dr.-Ing. Carl 61
 Köhler, Max 151
 Köhler, Paul 169
 Koelble, Dr. Josef 153
 König, Dr. Karl 24
 Konstantin, Prinz von Bayern 32
 Kopf, Dr. Hermann 39
 Körner, Dr. Georg 217
 Kötzing 196
 Krapf, Dr. Franz 45
 Krauch, Prof. Dr. Karl 85
 Krautwig, Dr. Carl 16
 Kreikenbohm, Walter 184
 Kretschmer, Otto 168
 Kroh, Hans 189
 Kroll, Dr. Hans 12
 Kroog, Dr. Werner 99
 Krüger, Hans 158
 Krupp von Bohlen und Halbach, Alfried 73, 85
 Krupp von Bohlen und Halbach, Gustav 53
 Küppenbender, Dr.-Ing. Heinrich 86
 Kurowsky 191

Laegeler 132
 Lahr, Dr. Rolf 26, 44
 Lane, Dr. Alexander 45
 Lanwer, Dr. Ewald 45
 Lauer, Peter 183
 Leber, Georg 16
 Leeb, Wilhelm Ritter von 195
 Leggewie 180
 Lehmann, Dr. Ernst 147
 Leicht, Albert 74
 Leitreiter, Dr. Herbert 99
 Lemmel 183, 184
 Lepkowski, Erich 194
 Lettow-Vorbeck, Paul von 195
 Leupold, Walter 204
 Leyendecker, Gustav 151
 Leyers, Hans 69

Lindner, Karl-Heinz 184
 Löffler, Klemens 151
 Luca, Charles 221
 Ludendorff, Erich 149, 166
 Ludendorff, Mathilde 152
 Ludwig, Kurt 151
 Lübke 160
 Lübbermann 180
 Lübke, Heinrich 22, 24, 42, 142, 181
 Lübke, Wilhelmine 208
 Lücke, Paul 16, 40, 41, 75, 132, 133, 138, 139, 175, 202/203, 205/206, 208, 211, 214
 Luedde-Neurath, Kurt 45
 Lüdke 168
 Lützenberger 181

Maier-Dorn, Emil 200, 208, 217
 Maizière, Ulrich de 166, 167, 171, 173, 176/177, 186, 188
 Majonica, Ernst 15, 26, 50, 171
 Mangoldt, Prof. Hermann von 21
 Marx, Werner 218
 May, Fritz 215
 Meendsen-Bohlken, Wilhelm 69
 Mehnert, Prof. Dr. Klaus 46
 Meissner, Prof. Dr. Boris 46
 Mende, Dr. Erich 22
 Messerschmitt, Prof. Dr. Willy 86
 Mittelstraß, Dr. Fritz 99
 Modschiedler, Hans 201
 Mohr, Dr. Ernst-Günther 45
 Moll, Josef 177, 186
 Mörig, Hagen 152
 Moritz, G. 173
 Mosch, Egon 99
 Mosley, Oswald 221
 Mozzocco, William 40
 Mueller-Hillebrand, Burkhardt 190, 191
 Müller, Christian 132
 Müller, Johannes 169
 Müller, Wolfgang 186

Neuss, Helmut 169
 Nieschling, Kay 99
 Niggemann, Heinz 184
 Nordhoff, Prof. Dr. Heinrich 73
 Nüsslein, Dr. Franz 45

Oetker, Rudolf-August 208
 Oster, Achim 168
 Ostermann von Roth, Ernst 46

Panitzki, Werner 165/166
 Paul, Hans 60

- Pauls, Rolf 41
 Pemler, Georg 184
 Pfeiderer, Dr. Otto 90
 Plato, Anton-Detlef von 168
 Pleyer, Wilhelm 201
 Pohle, Dr. Wolfgang 124
 Pöhlmann, Dr. Siegfried 203
 Pohlhausen, Dr. Henn 151
 Pongs, Prof. Hermann 153
 Preis, Harald 184
 Prentzel, Dr. Felix Alexander 61
 Prosperi 160

 Quick, Prof. Dr.-Ing. August Wilhelm 68

 Rabenalt, Arthur-Maria 161
 Raeder, Erich 191
 Ramcke, H. B. 189
 Rehwinkel, Edmund 213
 Reinhard 184
 Reinhardt, Dr. Hermann 99
 Reusch, Dr. Hermann 61, 86
 Ribbentrop, Joachim von 13
 Richter, Martin 99
 Rode 179
 Rodenstock, Prof. Dr. Rolf 68
 Rogge, Bernhard 132
 Rohland, Dr. Walter 86
 Rosenberg, Alfred 153, 205/206
 Ross, Wolfgang 184, 188/189
 Rotermund, Heinz 99
 Roth 173
 Rothe, Dr. Leo S. 68
 Rother, Dr. Heinz 99
 Roux, Dr. A. J. A. 60
 Rudolf, Fritz 68
 Ruff, Dr. Siegfried 68
 Rühl, Prof. Dr. Karl 100
 Rutz 168

 Sachs, Dr. Hans-Georg 46
 Saffran 182
 Saur, Karl-Otto 68
 Schäfer, Friedrich 133
 Schattenberg, Horst-Renner 100
 Schelling, Friedrich Wilhelm von 90
 Schellpeper, Herbert 100
 Schiller, Prof. Dr. Karl 16, 35, 90–97, 105
 Schindler 175
 Schirach, Baldur von 215
 Schitz, Otto 151
 Schleyer, Dr. Hanns Martin 105, 108
 Schlieffen, von 166, 195

 Schmid, Prof. Dr. Carlo 138
 Schmidt, Hans 151
 Schmidt, Helmut 133
 Schmitt, Prof. Dr. Carl 124, 153
 Schneider, Ernst Georg 73, 107
 Schneider, Herbert 69
 Schnell, Karl Helmut 25
 Schnez, Albert 175
 Schnippenkoetter 50
 Schnoor, Waltraud 186
 Schoffer, Götz 33
 Schrader, Dr. Gerhard 40
 Schramm, Wilhelm Ritter von 173, 191
 Schreihage, Dr. Heinrich 100
 Schröder, Gerhard 49, 75, 171
 Schubert 180
 Schulte 168
 Schulz, Dr. Heinz Friedrich 100
 Schumann, Dr. Theo 60
 Schüßler, Prof. Wilhelm 147
 Schütz, Hans 32, 218
 Schütz, Waldemar 138
 Schütz, Waldemar 218
 Schwarzmann, Dr. Hans 45
 Schweiger, Hartmut 142
 Schweimer, Horst Günther 208, 217
 Seebohm, Hans Christoph 28
 Seemann, Dr. Klaus 172
 Seiberlich, Josef 100
 Seidel, Hans Dieter 25
 Selle, Hans Otto von 100
 Selle, Otto 169
 Sennekamp, H. 100
 Siegert, Dr. Albrecht 100
 Siemens, Ernst von 72, 73
 Siemens, Dr. Hermann von 86
 Sohl, Hans-Günther 73
 Solms, Karl Walrad Prinz zu 208, 215
 Soltau, Hans 157
 Sonneck, Hubert 189
 Speidel, Dr. Hans 176, 183, 189
 Sperl, Ulrich 100
 Spitzmüller, Kurt 38
 Springer, Axel Cäsar 73, 142, 154–157
 Stedtfeld, Dr. Fritz 100
 Steidle, Dr. Walter 100
 Steinberg, Helmut 153
 Steiner, Felix 191
 Steinhoff, Johannes 166, 177/178
 Stengler, Ing. Richard 69
 Stephan 187
 Stöckicht, Peter 201
 Stoltenberg, Dr. Gerhard 52, 55, 56

GREY BOOK

Strauss, Franz-Josef 6, 7, 9, 16, 26, 30, 32, 41, 42, 49, 50,
77, 87, 88, 105, 109, 140, 142, 200, 203, 208, 210, 211,
218
Strobel, Käte 22
Stüber, Fritz 153
Stücklen, Richard 24
Stumme, Wolfgang 150
Stürtz, Gustav 217

Tannstein, Dr. Kurt von 46
Thadden, Adolf von 208, 213, 215, 221
Thaden, Dr. Herbert 151
Thalau, Prof. Dr.-Ing. Karl 69
Thielen, Friedrich 201, 205, 208, 210, 213, 214, 215
Thielicke, Prof. D. Dr. Helmut 142
Thilo, Karl-Wilhelm 196
Thiriart, Jean 221
Thomsen, Rolf 169
Toepfer, Dr. Bruno 101
Trautloft, Johannes 195
Trettner, Heinz 166, 176
Truxa, Josef 201
Tüngeler, Johannes 90
Turowski, Lothar 101

Übelhack, Friedrich 178, 195

Verleger, Prof. Dr. Heinz 60
Vits, Dr. Ernst Hellmut 86
Vogel 168
Vogel, Dr. Georg 46
Voigt, Adalbert 183

Walendy, Udo 142
Walter, Dr. Franz 101
Walter, Hans 151
Walther, Hellmuth 69
Weber 184
Wehnelt 168
Wehner, Herbert 16, 21, 22, 30, 31, 158
Wehrstedt, Dr. Friedrich Wilhelm 44
Weinstein, Adelbert 172
Weis, Helmut 183
Wenck, Walter 88, 194
Werz, Dr. Luitpold 45
Wessel, Gerhard 168
Westrick, Dr. Ludger 124
Wever 195
Wietersheim, Wend von 189
Winnacker, Prof. Dr.-Ing. Karl 55, 61, 73
Winter, Franz-Florian 201
Wirth, Dr. Wolfgang 40
Wischnewski, Hans-Jürgen 41, 43, 44
Woitschell, Gerhard 217
Wolf, K. 173
Woratz, Dr. Gerhard 101
Wurster, Prof. Dr. Carl 86

Zacharias, Ellis M. 46
Zaddach, Dr. Rudolf 101
Zangen, Dr. Wilhelm 86
Zenker, Karl Wolf 178
Ziesel, Kurt 152
Zoglmann, Siegfried 32

Contents

5 BACKGROUNDS–AIMS–METHODS

CHAPTER I

12 NEW STAGE OF THE EXPANSIONIST POLICY

- 12 The Ribbentrop Method
- 13 Global Strategy and Bridge Building
- 14 The Presumption of Sole Representation
- 14 Under the Mask of the Smile
- 15 Secret Implementing Regulations
- 15 Grey Plan and Grey Eminences
- 15 “Timely” Arrangements of the Annexationist Plans
- 16 Advisory Research Council–Official Organ
- 16 State Monopoly Entanglement
- 17 Sabre Rattling
- 17 Points of the Immediate Program
- 18 Secret Lists in the Safes
- 18 Model: Göring’s Green File
- 20 From the Maas to the Memel
- 20 The Importance of Being German
- 21 Revanchism in the School Atlas
- 22 Experimental Field West Berlin
- 24 The Old Eastern Policy With New Tactics
- 24 In a Blind Alley
- 24 Appearance and Reality
- 26 And Again: Permanent Aggression
- 26 The Testament of Wenzel Jaksch
- 28 Protective Obligations–Camouflage for Revanchism
- 28 “Living Space” in Foreign States
- 30 Birds of a Feather in the Cabinet
- 31 Cobweb of Revanchism
- 31 Hassel–Specialist in Counter-revolution
- 31 Manoeuvring Grounds Alto Adige
- 32 The Old Idea: Hegemony in Western Europe
- 33 The EEC as an Instrument
- 33 Policy of Pressure
- 34 The Penetration of Key Positions in NATO
- 34 The Conspiracy with US Imperialism
- 38 The Bloody Adventure in Vietnam
- 38 Death Notices
- 38 Exports for Aggression
- 39 Credits for Dictators
- 39 Foreign Exchange Adjustment as Cover
- 40 Profits from the Poison Gas War
- 40 Technician with Pay-book
- 41 Legion of Bomber Pilots
- 41 The Heia Safari under a New Flag
- 42 Monopolies Want More
- 43 Sole Representation Pretension towards the “Third World”
- 43 “Ben Wisch of Arabia”
- 44 The Old Servants in the Foreign Office
- 44 Brown Waist-coats in the Ministries
- 45 . . . and Brown Dress Coats in the Embassies
- 46 Specialists on Eastern Research as Advisers

CHAPTER II

47 ATOMIC WEAPONS AS A MEANS OF EXERTING PRESSURE ON THE PEOPLES OF EUROPE

- 47 The First Plans For Atomic Armament
- 49 The Forward Thrust of the Kiesinger/Strauss Cabinet
- 49 Different Ways to the Bomb
- 50 Malicious Attacks against the Atomic Non-proliferation Treaty
- 52 Hypocrisy Concerning Scientific and Technical Progress
- 52 “Equality” à la Hitler
- 53 Blackmail of the NATO Partners
- 53 Once Again “Withdrawn from Public View”
- 55 The New Orientation: Atomic and Rocket Cartels
- 55 Conspiracy on the Bomb
- 57 Production Centres for Atomic Weapons
- 59 Secret Agreements with Fascist Dictators
- 61 The Powerful Men in the Atomic Pool
- 61 Illegal Missile Production for Military Purposes
- 63 From its Own Arsenal
- 66 Together with the NATO Partners
- 66 On Mutual Agreement
- 67 In the Key Posts

CHAPTER III

70 ECONOMIC FOUNDATIONS OF EXPANSION AND NEO-NAZISM

- | | |
|---|--|
| 70 The Concentration of Power | 83 Not Overcome for the Present! |
| 70 Renunciation of Potsdam | 85 From A (like Abs) to Z (like Zangen) |
| 71 Multi-millionaires Organize Concentration | 86 Strauss, the Strong Man of the Monopolies |
| 74 The Armaments Business—for the Benefit of the Multi-millionaires | 89 Blessing's Brown Bankers |
| 74 The Budget in the Service of Militarism | 90 Fulfilment Assistant: Schiller |
| 76 War Dance Around the Golden Calf | 101 The Uneven Development Sharpens the Contradictions |
| 79 Who Supplies What to the Bundeswehr? | 101 Outstripping the Western Neighbours |
| 83 Hitler's War Economy Leaders in Command | 102 Spectre of Economic Instability |

CHAPTER IV

104 TRANSITION TO NEO-NAZI GOVERNING METHODS

- | | |
|---|---|
| 104 Deprivation of the Rights of the Working People | 124 Who is Dr. Knieper? |
| 104 General Attack Against Social Rights | 124 New Version of Brüning's Emergency Laws |
| 105 Short-Time, Wage Reductions and Dismissals | 126 Noose of a New Criminal Law |
| 106 Intensified Exploitation | 126 The 8th Amendment to the Criminal Law Legalizes Arbitrariness |
| 106 Loss of Pay for the Workers—Higher Profits for the Employers | 128 Emergency Law Paves the Way for Martial Law |
| 106 Authorization Law to Stabilize Monopoly Power | 128 Cancellation of the Constitutional Court System |
| 107 "Concentrated Action" Against the Trade Unions | 130 Emergency Laws as Nucleus |
| 108 Co-determination in the Pincer | 130 Incisive Dictatorship Laws Already Adopted |
| 108 The Destruction of the Democratic Clauses of the Constitution | 131 Emergency Dictatorship Tested in Practice in "Fallex 66" |
| 110 Comparative Tables of the Dismemberment | 132 The Emergency Plot of the Kiesinger/Strauss Government |
| 123 On the Road to the Chancellor's Total Dictatorship | 133 Frontal Attack on Workers' Rights |
| 123 The Federal Chancellery—the Modernized Reich Chancellery | 134 Dictatorial Powers for Organs of Coercion |
| | 139 Securing Power by Electoral Reform |

CHAPTER V

141 MANIPULATION OF PEOPLE IN THE SPIRIT OF EXPANSION AND NEO-NAZISM

- | | |
|--|--|
| 141 The Missed Hour of Intellectual Regeneration | 147 Corruption of Youth |
| 141 Lessons of the War | 148 Depicting the Foe as the Devil |
| 142 New Dagger-Thrust Legend | 150 The Muses Not Spared |
| 143 The Nationalist Wave after the 13th CDU-Congress | 151 Teachers in the NPD |
| 143 Guiding Motive of the General Consumer | 151 The Fascist Wave and its Intellectual Scum |
| 143 Rude Awakening | 151 Penetration into the Universities |
| 144 War in the Fourth Sphere | 153 Professors and Writers |
| 144 Recourse to Hitler's Psychology | 154 The Everyday Mass Media |
| 145 The State Instrument of Instigation | 154 The Power of Axel Cäsar Springer |
| 145 Beginning at School | 157 Coordination by Blackmail |
| 145 Channelized System | 157 Witch-hunt Against Professor Jaspers |
| 145 Federal Centre of Political Distortion | 158 Pressure of Revanchist Leaders |
| 146 Conferences of Anti-culture | 159 The Help Given by the Entertainment Industry |
| 146 Eastern Studies in Instruction | 159 Three Thousand Million Copies of Trash |
| 147 The School in the Grasp of the Manipulators | |

160 Illegal Censorship
160 Race-Hatred "Valuable"
160 Arbitrary "Self-Control"

162 The Bond-Wave
162 The Soldier Booklets
163 Warning Voices

CHAPTER VI

165 THE BUNDESWEHR—HOTBED OF NEO-NAZISM AND INSTRUMENT OF AGGRESSION

165 Will There Be Shooting Again?
165 The Mutiny of the Generals
167 The Machinery of the Armed Forces
170 Integration for Destruction
170 The Flight Forward
171 The Doctrine of War
171 "Concept of War"
171 "Forward Strategy"
172 "Total Defence"
172 "Escalation"
173 Strangulation of Civilian Life
173 The Emergency Constitution
174 The Territorial Army
174 The Action-Test
174 In "Fallex 66"
175 "Panthersprung"
176 The Devil's Generals

176 Maizière, Ulrich de
177 Moll, Josef
177 Steinhoff, Johannes
178 Zenker, Karl-Adolf
178 Übelhack, Friedrich
178 Kielmansegg, Johann Adolf Graf von
179 The Seeds of Violence
182 The Breeding of Neo-fascism
183 Reaching for the Youth
183 The Old Hat: Steel Helmet
184 Bundeswehr as Electoral Helper of the NDP
186 The Bundeswehr as Voters' Potential of the NPD
186 The NPD Gives the Army a Fascist Character
188 The Rise of Captain Ross
189 The Return to the Wehrmacht
190 Spiritual Nourishment for the March
194 Symbols of Yesterday
195 As Crowning: SS Death's Head in the Bundeswehr
196 SS Men in the Bundeswehr

CHAPTER VII

197 NPD—PRODUCT AND SHOCK TROOP OF THE MONOPOLIES

197 Hot-House Plant of the Bonn System
200 The Masters of Neo-nazism
201 Employers' Associations Intervene
202 Backing by the Government
203 NPD Obeyes
204 Demagogy at the 2nd Congress of the NPD
205 The Programming of a New Mythology

208 Financing By Big Industry
208 The Interplay Between CDU/CSU And NPD
210 The Hitler Movement as Instructor
214 The Battering Ram Against the Trade Unions
214 The Old Nazis as Elite Troops
217 The Blackmail of Foreign Countries

222 FRIENDS, BE ON GUARD!

224 Register of Names

Correction: The text of the picture on the last page of the picture section (bottom picture) reads: Old-nazi Georg Körner—as "Reich speaker" of the Hitler party (right) once on the side of war criminals Frick and Ley—today a member of the party executive of the neo-nazi NPD.

Verlag Zeit im Bild
GDR 801 Dresden
Fritz-Heckert-Platz 10
Layout: Zeit im Bild, graphic department
Cover design: Alfred Brückner
Translation: Intertext Berlin
Printed in the German Democratic Republic
by Grafischer Grossbetrieb Völkerfreundschaft Dresden
466/67 2, 3, 4 (2)